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LEONARD AUGSBURGER



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“Mr. Secretary”: John Lewgar, St. John’s Freehold, and Early Maryland

Arthur Pierce Middleton and Henry M. Miller

A new exhibit opened at St. Mary’s City in 2008 that interprets a remarkable archaeological site dating from the first years of settlement in colonial Maryland. Named St. John’s, workers built a house there in the summer of 1638, one that ultimately witnessed some of the most significant events in the colony’s early history. Its owner, John Lewgar, was a friend of Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who appointed him the secretary of the province in 1637. Cecil had previously made his own brother, Leonard Calvert, Governor and Chancellor of Maryland, and now Lewgar was given virtually all the remaining governmental responsibilities such as custodian of the land records, recorder, collector of quit-rents, judge of probate, and surveyor general. In Gilbert & Sullivan terms, Leonard Calvert was the Mikado of Maryland, and Lewgar the Pooh Bah, the Lord High of Everything Else. As the colony grew in population and wealth over the next century and a half, no fewer than seven official posts developed out of the Secretariat Lewgar held by a process of subdivision.¹ His story is not only important to Maryland’s history, but reflects the religious tensions and struggles with conscience which were central to the young colony.

Lewgar’s contribution to Maryland began shortly after its founding. One of the earliest published pamphlets on Maryland, *A Relation of Maryland*, dated September 6, 1635, gave glowing accounts of the natural beauty and riches of Lord Baltimore’s recently founded colony in America and provided perspective settlers with a detailed list of supplies they needed to bring with them in order to clear the land, cultivate the soil, build shelter for themselves and families, and survive the first winter. For that reason, its authorship was for a time attributed to the Lord Proprietor himself. But in an extant court record, William Peasley, the treasurer of the enterprise and brother-in-law of Lord Baltimore, declared that the work was “written and conceived by Mr. Jerome Haulie [or Hawley] and Mr. John Lewgar, two of the adventurers [investors] of the said plantacon.” Surely Peasley was in a position to know who wrote it. Hawley, a courtier to Queen Henrietta Maria, sailed with the first settlers on *The Ark* in 1634, and he knew Maryland from

Arthur Pierce Middleton, Ph.D., is Sometime Director of Research of Colonial Williamsburg and Lieutenant Governor of the Society of the Ark and the Dove, and Henry M. Miller, Ph.D., is Director of Research for Historic St. Mary’s City. The new St. John’s Archaeological Site Exhibit Building formally opens September 14, 2008.



John Lewgar, an ordained Church of England priest, served at Laverton in Somerset before converting to Catholicism and emigrating to the Maryland colony. (Author's photograph.)

direct experience. Lewgar probably had no such experience but was a skilled writer and editor who likely prepared the pamphlet for publication.² *A Relation of Maryland* helped spur immigration to the colony and provides invaluable information about Maryland's founding period.

John Lewgar (also spelled "Lewger") "was born of genteel parents in London" from a long-established Sussex family. Most likely his father was Philip Lewgar (sometimes spelled Lugar), a scrivener (professional clerk or secretary) of Chancery Lane. John was baptized at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West on December 27, 1601, and admitted to Trinity College, Oxford on December 13, 1616.³ He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in November of 1619 and received a Master of Arts on June 26, 1622. While there, he received a solid grounding in grammar, rhetoric, logic, mathematics and music, read Aristotle, Virgil, Horace and Cicero, and worked in Latin and perhaps Greek. Three years later he was ordained a priest in the Church of England and received the benefice of Laverton, Somerset, as the gift of King Charles I, being installed there on February 10, 1626/27. Lewgar also taught as a fellow at Trinity College, Oxford, and gained a Bachelor of Divinity degree in July 1632. Oxford University licensed him to preach throughout England.⁴

Somerset county had strong Oxford connections in terms of clergy and records from its Diocese of Bath and Wells indicate that Lewgar received the benefice there when he was only twenty-five years old. This fact is notable because the



The rectory at Laverton today. Note that an orchard is still found to the right of the house. (Author's photograph.)

average age a person received their first benefice in the diocese was 29.4 years. This implies that Lewgar had notable ability that was recognized early.⁵ On the other hand, he did not receive a lucrative parish. Laverton provided an annual income valued at £30 in 1668, and that was probably the case during Lewgar's tenure. The mean income for diocese parishes was nearly double that and for clergy who were the sons of gentlemen, it averaged £68.5. But in a study of the diocese, Margaret Stieg finds that "A realistic Somerset clergyman would probably, therefore, have accepted £30 as a minimum before the Civil War. Thirty pounds might seem rather inadequate, but 46 of the 359 benefices listed in the 1668 survey were worth less than £30."⁶ Annual tithes from the manor of Laverton were the principal source of this income, although leasing and farming glebe land provided more revenue. In addition, clergymen received small fees for conducting baptisms, marriages, and funerals.

"Laverton is situated in a pleasant vale, finely wooded, to the north of the town of Frome . . . the church . . . is a small structure 52 feet long and 20 wide, At the west end is a tower, eight feet high, containing three bells."⁷ Named St. Mary the Virgin, construction dates to medieval times. In January 1638/39, the church wardens made a survey of the rectory and glebe of Laverton, providing an excellent sense of the property where Lewgar dwelled. The rectory consisted of seven rooms, with four on the ground floor and three on the second. An orchard and garden grew near the house, and an adjoining farmyard had a barn, hay house, and stable. Measuring

nearly seventy-five acres in size, this holding included fields, meadows, pastures and hedges, and no doubt provided Lewgar with considerable experience in husbandry.⁸ The rectory survives, a two-story building of stone construction with a central fireplace, lobby entrance, and an addition to the rear.

Lewgar began his ministry in a diocese that was undergoing forced change, serving under William Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells between 1626 and 1628, and Laud's equally High Church successor, William Peirs.⁹ Laud's vigorous attempts to impose doctrinal and liturgical conformity on Puritan-minded priests and laity of the Church of England, even in a diocese that had relatively few Puritans, proved highly controversial. The bishop first implemented these reforms in the diocese of Bath and Wells, earning it a title from one scholar as "Laud's Laboratory." These reforms met with indifferent success and much objection. One of the most famous challenges occurred in the church at Beckington, a village only two miles from Lewgar's rectory. The dispute centered on the communion table. Laud ordered the table placed against the east wall of churches, as per long established Christian tradition, and for it to be enclosed by a rail. But the church wardens at Beckington refused in 1635, wanting it to be in the center of the chancel without any rail, a Puritan concept thought to better represent early Christianity. The argument rapidly escalated until Laud excommunicated and imprisoned the wardens, actions that attracted national attention. When one of the wardens later died while in prison, he became a martyr and the Puritan-minded forces used the episode to attack Laud.¹⁰ Lewgar certainly knew the rector and perhaps the church wardens at Beckington. Although seemingly a small matter, the communion table controversy became an important symbol of the growing divide between the Church of England and the Puritans. This conflict, and the rising tide of Puritanism, could not be overlooked, particularly for someone with Lewgar's intellect who surely recognized that the Church of England might lose its medieval structure, Catholic liturgy, and Apostolic Succession. His worst fears eventually materialized when the Parliamentarians impeached William Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1640, imprisoned him in the Tower of London, and beheaded him in 1645.¹¹ John Lewgar, however, did not have to choose sides in this religious dispute for he had made a profound decision.

During his time in Oxford, he had become friends with William Chillingworth, a brilliant scholar and theologian. Chillingworth had a keen, critical mind and believed strongly in the duty of individuals to form their own convictions about salvation and follow their consciences. Deep inquiry led him to reject the Anglican faith, regardless of the fact that his godfather William Laud held appointment as the Archbishop of Canterbury. The young theologian converted to Roman Catholicism, the faith he believed most representative of the true religion. The decision greatly disturbed Lewgar who:

To satisfy himself, or to obtain arguments with which to draw back his friend from the maze of error into which he believed he had fallen, he began himself a thorough investigation of the subject, at the end of which he came to a similar conclusion with Chillingworth, and felt himself compelled to acknowledge the Church of Rome as the only true Church.¹²

In 1635, John Lewgar decided to abjure Anglican orders and conform to the Church of Rom. Chillingworth, on the other hand, after studying with the Jesuits at their seminary in Douay, France, found their more rigid approach to theology and church traditions unacceptable, and changed his mind once more. He returned to the Church of England, became an ordained priest in 1638, and authored an influential book titled *The Religion of Protestants: a Safe Way to Salvation*.¹³ Afterward, Lewgar and Chillingworth again debated theology, this time with their positions reversed.¹⁴ Lewgar's argument appeared as *A conference between him and Mr. Chillingworth, whether the Roman church be the Catholic church and all out of communion heretics or schismatics*, published posthumously in 1687 in a collection of Chillingworth's writings. Lewgar, unmoved by the discussions, remained firm in his new ecclesiastical affiliation.

Church of England priests such as Lewgar did not take conversion to the Roman Catholic faith lightly. Serious consequences accompanied his decision to resign his Anglican incumbency at Laverton in early to mid-1635. Lewgar found himself prohibited from church, government, or academic positions, with little visible means of support for himself and his family. He had married a woman named Ann in the mid-1620s and by mid-decade had a son named John.¹⁵ They apparently moved to London after his resignation. On July 11, 1635, Gregory Panzani, a Papal envoy in London, wrote:

I have also recommended to Father Philips [confessor of Queen Henrietta Maria] a very learned minister, John Leuger, one recently converted. . . . On his coming to see me, I received him with all marks of affection possible, promising to do for him whatever I could. . . . He goes about still dressed like a minister, as well because that garb is not held to be distinctive, for it is common even to the students, as because he goes on temporizing thus in order to not lose his income, till he finds something else to live on. The Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury know that he is converted; still they pretend to be ignorant of the fact, and they tolerate him.¹⁶

If this gossip were true at the time, it did not last. Seven months later, Panzani wrote that "Father Leander had already commended to me John Leuger, a converted minister, who having lost a benefice worth 400 scudi, has nothing now to maintain his wife and children, who are become Catholics with him." This must have been a difficult time for Lewgar. Panzani tells us that "I have tried in various

ways to keep up his spirits . . . but I have not been able to get anything of consequence. And a small pittance is not enough for him." As late as August 25, 1636, he was still making efforts to find assistance. Eventually, Father William Price of the Benedictine Order provided the needed financial support.¹⁷

During this period, Lewgar grew closer to his old college friend Cecil Calvert, now Lord Baltimore. He and Jerome Hawley had already assisted Calvert with the writing of *A Relation of Maryland*. No evidence of Lewgar's activities between August 1636 and April 1637 has been found, but he must have begun working for Lord Baltimore during this period. On April 15, 1637, Cecil Calvert commissioned Lewgar as Secretary for Maryland, councilor, collector and receiver of rents, and surveyor general.¹⁸ As councilor, he would serve with Leonard Calvert and Thomas Cornwaleys as the chief officers of the government. A few months later, he and his family sailed for America on the ship *Unity*, a vessel from the Isle of Wight, arriving in Maryland on November 28, 1637. Lewgar carried letters for Governor Leonard Calvert, gifts for the "Emperor of Paskattaway," and a new legal code for the colony that he had likely written or helped Lord Baltimore prepare.¹⁹ Thus began ten years (1637–1647) of service to the Lord Proprietary in Maryland. In late January 1637/38, he received even more duties with his appointment as the commissioner in Causes Testamentary and Matrimonial for the government and Justice of the Peace for St. Mary's County. Lewgar now held the administration of Maryland's government in his hands.

Lewgar received a jarring introduction to the contentious politics of the new colony in his first meeting with the assembly. Governor Calvert and Lewgar attempted to have the legislators approve Lord Baltimore's legal code. The freedmen, unwilling to have laws dictated to them, rejected it outright, complaining that Lord Baltimore had prepared the laws without a firm knowledge of actual conditions in the colony. Leonard Calvert recognized the problem, later writing to his brother that "The body of laws you sent over by Mr. Lewger, I endeavored to have had passed . . . but could not effect it, there was so many things unsuitable to the people's good and no way conducing to your profit."²⁰ The assembly proposed new laws and modified Lord Baltimore's but they accomplished little in establishing a new overall legal code. It would require a number of legislative sessions for partial implementation, and Lord Baltimore's slow recognition that the freedmen of Maryland would insist upon having a major role in creating laws. As an assembly, they saw themselves as a mini-parliament.²¹

While struggling to organize legal and administrative affairs for the colony, Lewgar also had the task of providing a home and a livelihood for his family. Initially, the Lewgars lived in one of the cottages within the 1634 fort. With a patent from Lord Baltimore, he had rights to a large tract of townland and soon chose a property just north of Governor Calvert's house that he named St. John's Freehold in honor of his patron saint. This uninhabited two-hundred-acre tract offered excellent agricultural land, good timber, a fine freshwater spring, and ready access to the river.²²

Construction began in the spring of 1638, and by the end of the year workers had completed a house and several outbuildings. Serving as their home, tobacco plantation, and Lewgar's office, St. John's almost immediately became a place of government business. As early as February 11, 1638/39, Governor Leonard Calvert directed the freemen of Mattapany and St. Mary's Hundreds to meet at "our Secretary's house at St. John's" to elect burgesses for the next assembly. The first elected assembly in Maryland history met at Lewgar's house two weeks later. Legislative sessions, meetings and court hearings frequently took place at St. John's over the next decade.²³ Lewgar's stoutly constructed home survived for over seventy-five years until ca. 1715 when, in the aftermath of the colonial capital's move to Annapolis, the site gave way to agriculture and farmers plowed the land for the next two centuries.

Digging for the Past

What kind of house did Lewgar build at St. John's? No pictures or drawings survive and documents provide few clues with which to answer this question, but we can rediscover St. John's through another approach—archaeology. Credit for discovering the house site goes to the pioneer architectural historian, H. Chandlee Forman, who conducted test excavations there in 1962. A decade later, Historic St. Mary's City began major archaeological research at St. John's under the direction of Garry Wheeler Stone. Many seasons of excavation (1972–1976, 1982, and 2001–2005) have uncovered the entire core of the St. John's plantation, identified numerous buildings, and recovered well over one million artifacts in what is the most intensive, long-term archaeological investigation of a seventeenth-century site in Maryland. These excavations and ongoing analysis are revealing the architecture of its buildings, the evolution of its yards, details about lifestyle, diet, material goods, and many other aspects of daily life from 1638 until ca. 1715 when its residents abandoned the house. This article examines evidence from the Lewgar period.

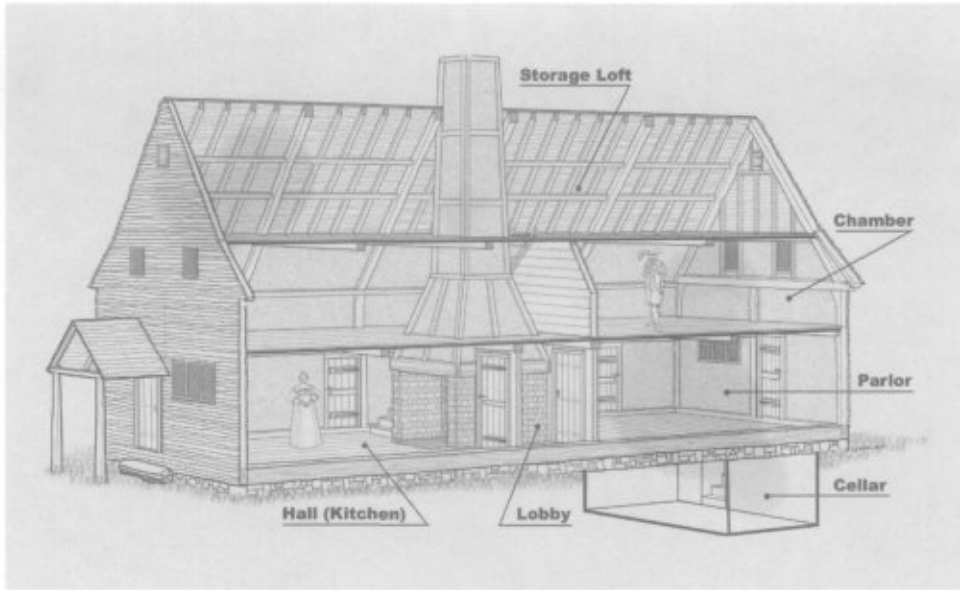
St. John's house is represented by cobblestone foundations that define a structure measuring 52 ft. long and 20 ft. 6 in. wide. Near the center of this rectangular plan, excavators found remnants of a chimney base of locally made red brick. This chimney divided the house into two rooms, each heated with a separate hearth. Archaeology suggests that this chimney was brick only up to the ceiling and above that the stack consisted of wattle and daub. Given its position, the chimney created rooms of unequal size, with the western room measuring about 20 ft. x 20 ft. and the eastern room larger at 24 ft. x 20 ft. The main entrance was opposite the chimney on the south wall, with entry into a small lobby. Documents and architectural precedents indicate that the larger room was called the parlor and the smaller one the hall. Halls were often the main activity room in seventeenth-century homes and used as the first kitchen at St. John's. The parlor served as



The St. John's archaeological site showing the foundation and surrounding yards, as archaeologists found it in the 1970s. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

Lewgar's office, the master bedroom, and a meeting space. Garry Stone's meticulous architectural analysis further indicates that St. John's stood one-and-a-half stories high with low upper chambers. The ceilings of the hall and parlor were low and divided into quarters by heavy, decorative timbers called summer beams that also supported the joists for the chamber floors above. These upper chambers likely functioned as bedrooms and storage space. Under the parlor floor was a large 10 ft. x 20 ft. cellar, initially lined with wood plank walls and later replaced with local sandstone. Study of the plan and clues found in various repairs indicate that St. John's was an English-framed structure with five bays, elaborate joinery, and a heavy box frame that rested on the low stone foundation.²⁴

John Lewgar built an exceptional house, almost twice as large as those typical of the time and place, and the additional half story made it even more impressive.²⁵ Due to exceptionally high labor costs on newly settled frontiers and a shortage of skilled craftsmen, most early dwellings were cheaply built and had the bare minimum of refinements. For example, many buildings from the first years at Jamestown were mud walled with light wooden frames that used few cut joints.²⁶ A comparable structure identified at the Chapel site at St. Mary's City dates to the 1630s, and it is unlikely that the small "cottages" erected inside Fort St. Mary's in 1634 and 1635 were built much better. Documents and limited archaeology indicate that most homes lacked wooden floors, glass windows, or plaster walls. Fires stoked in chimneys of mud and stick provided heat in rooms with walls covered



Artist's cutaway view of Lewgar's St. John's, based upon archaeological analysis, showing the rooms and construction details. (Leslie Barker, Historic St. Mary's City.)

with thin, riven, clapboard roofs supported on wooden posts rather than solid, masonry foundations. To further save on costs, carpenters had begun developing a construction method that employed cheap lap joints and required a minimum of the labor intensive mortice and tenon joinery.²⁷ Settlers rapidly accepted this wooden, impermanent, earthfast architecture in the new setting of the Chesapeake.

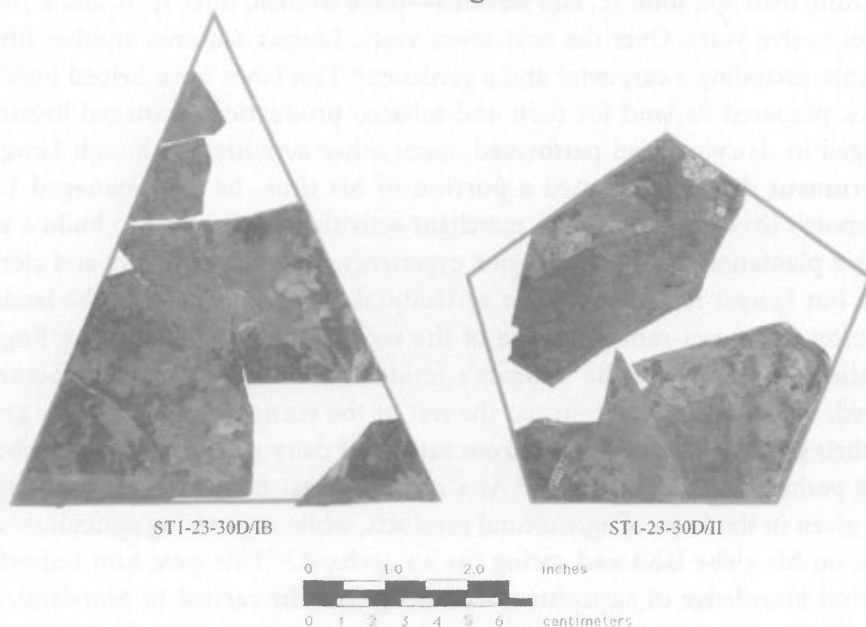
St. John's, however, did not fit this model. As an English house transplanted on the Maryland frontier, little in its construction conceded to frontier conditions. Perhaps the only Chesapeake adaptation Lewgar made was using riven oak or chestnut clapboard to cover the roof and walls of his house. For the foundation, workers must have combed miles of beach in this forested, tidewater setting to collect enough large cobbles, a fact demonstrated by oyster shells still adhering to some of the stones. Builders dug shallow trenches for floor joists inside the structure, and in these filled trenches archaeologists found floorboard nails still standing upright and in place. Its cellar, large and deep, provided far better storage capacity than the common root cellars seen on many sites. Abundant traces of plaster made from burned oyster shell demonstrate that at least the hall and parlor walls displayed finished plaster between the heavy framing posts. Finally, Lewgar covered his window openings with glass instead of wooden shutters. Early glass windows in the Chesapeake region typically displayed diamond or rectangular glass panes, all held in place with thin lead strips. Although St. John's had these, some glass fragments from the earliest pits have a strikingly different shape.

The earliest pits yielded glass panes cut into the form of triangles and pentagons . Some of the early St. John's windows must have featured a very complex decorative pattern that has not been identified on other seventeenth-century Chesapeake sites. Only the most elegant windows appearing in Dutch genre paintings of the seventeenth-century provide some sense of how those at St. John's might have looked. In 1630's and 1640's Maryland, Lewgar's dwelling stood out as one of the largest and most elegantly finished of homes.

Constructing such a house must have cost a fortune, but in doing so Lewgar acquired a structure that advertised and enhanced his social status and political power. And it may have been partially intended for government use. At 52 feet in length, St. John's was longer than comparable hall and parlor houses being built in New England. Many lobby entrance, hall and parlor homes in England had three unit plans. Given its length, Stone surmises that St. John's was designed to be a three unit building.²⁸ With such a plan, a hall would be at one end, a parlor in the middle, and a private space perhaps divided into an office and small bedroom at the other end. To create such a private space at St. John's, a partition would be expected about 10 ft. from the east end of the house, directly over the west wall of the cellar and aligned with one of the large ceiling summer beams. No evidence suggests, however, that Lewgar built this partition at St. John's. Furthermore, two

These fragments of glass window panes found at St. John's date to the Lewgar period. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

Window fragments



post holes found off the east gable of the house and a scatter of artifacts indicate that a doorway existed in the center of the east gable. This allowed direct access into the parlor, an unusual feature at this time. Stone believes that Lewgar intentionally delayed adding a partition in order that the resulting large room would be available for meetings.²⁹ As chief bureaucrat for the colony, having adequate facilities for government business certainly concerned Lewgar. By delaying this room division, his parlor became one of the largest, and nicest heated indoor spaces in the entire colony. It would be four more years, when workers expanded Leonard Calvert's St. Mary's house, that a larger space intended for government business became available.

Why did Lewgar select this specific house type from the wide range of possibilities offered by seventeenth-century England? Nothing he wrote answers this question, but the form of the structure provides a clue. A two unit (hall and parlor) or a three unit plan with a central chimney and lobby entrance is an architectural form widely used in a region of England known as East Anglia, and was especially popular in the seventeenth century.³⁰ The Lewgar family had its roots either in the county of Sussex or Essex, both in East Anglia, and it is likely that he visited or perhaps lived there for a time. It is equally relevant that his rectory at Laverton, although a two story structure, has a similar plan with a central chimney and a lobby entrance. We suggest that Lewgar drew directly upon his experience and family background when choosing this popular building plan for his new Maryland home.

When they arrived in Maryland, the Lewgar household included John, his wife Ann, their son John Jr., and servants—three women, three men, and a young boy of twelve years. Over the next seven years, Lewgar acquired another fifteen servants, including a carpenter and a gardener.³¹ This labor force helped build St. John's, prepared its land for corn and tobacco production, managed livestock, engaged in dairying, and performed many other activities. Although Lewgar's government duties consumed a portion of his time, he also managed Lord Baltimore's livestock, engaged in merchant activities, and worked to build a productive plantation. Most of his prior experience was with scholarly and clerical tasks, but Lewgar had gained some agricultural knowledge on the glebe lands in Laverton. Somerset ranked as one of the most populous and wealthy English counties at the time of the Lewgars's residence. Woolen cloth manufacturing thrived, but agriculture dominated the rest of the economy. Farmers grew grain, but their greatest income derived from cattle and dairy products, Cheddar cheese being perhaps the most famous.³² As a rector, Lewgar had to collect tithes, typically given in the form of agricultural products, while supervising agriculture and cattle on his glebe land and caring for an orchard.³³ This gave him important practical knowledge of agriculture, knowledge that he carried to Maryland. His Somerset experience probably influenced one action Lewgar took that appears



Archaeological remains of the dairy cellar, from the Lewgar period. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

strange to our modern senses. When laying out the St. John's property, he carefully placed the boundary line so as to include "all the marshes and low grounds on both sides of the said creek called St. John's" (now called Fisherman Creek just north of the house location). This represented twenty-five to thirty acres of the entire two-hundred-acre tract. Why did he want to acquire property that even in the seventeenth century could not be farmed? The answer lies in British husbandry practices. Marsh lands along rivers in England, sometimes called water meadows, served as valuable resources for livestock pasture and as sources of fodder.³⁴ A tributary of the River Frome flows through Laverton, bordering the glebe land, with marshes along its shores. Lewgar apparently viewed this swampy area next to St. John's as important for maintaining his livestock herd. Both English experience, and the rarity of good grass for pasture in the tree-covered landscape of early Maryland explain Lewgar's curious action.

We know little about his actual farming activities at St. John's although he definitely raised corn and tobacco. Whether Lewgar grew wheat, barley, and oats is less certain, yet swine, poultry, cattle, and sheep lived on the property, evidenced in the fact that archaeologists have recovered their bones. The secretary also proposed starting a swine plantation in 1639, but there is no documentation that he carried out the plan. Raising chickens proved quite successful, to judge from a 1639 letter to Lord Baltimore in which he said "For poultry, I can at this present out of my own stock furnish your Lordship with 50 or 60 breeding hens."³⁵ Another of Lewgar's responsibilities involved overseeing Lord Baltimore's cattle



Wolves killed this adult ewe, one of Lord Baltimore's flock, in the early 1640s. Archaeologists uncovered her remains in a shallow grave in the backyard of St. John's. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

and sheep, a task that included establishing a plantation for the cattle across the river from St. John's at West St. Mary's Manor and hiring a cowkeeper and dairy maid to run it. A 1644 account in Lewgar's hand notes this plantation and shows that Lord Baltimore owned a total of 149 cattle at various locations in Maryland.³⁶ A small flock of sheep, probably a gift to Lord Baltimore from Secretary Kemp of Virginia, lived at St. John's but sheep raising proved difficult. Not only was there a shortage of pasture but in 1643 wolves killed four of the sheep. Another old ram was "killed by mr. Secretary for provision in his sicknes" In the excavations at St. John's, archaeologists discovered a buried ewe that was probably one of the sheep Lewgar described as "killed by wolves" in 1643 and died within a few weeks of giving birth to two lambs. Wolves, a serious threat on the early frontier, deterred sheep husbandry until late in the century.³⁷ Lewgar also owned some of the first horses in Maryland. In November 1644, Leonard Calvert signed a bill that required him to pay John Smith, a London linen draper, 100 pounds sterling on the account of John Lewgar. The bill continued "And is for the price of 3 mares, one stone horse & one colt sold & delivered to me this day by the said John Lewger."³⁸

Due to his difficult financial situation in the late 1630s and 1640s, Lord Baltimore paid John Lewgar not with cash "for his care & paines in writing of the accountes yearly & in my other affaires there," but by giving him twenty barrels

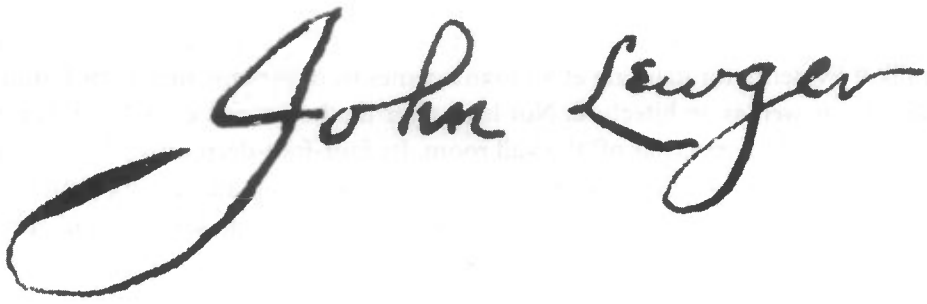
of corn "from the quitt rents there," two steers and the use of six cows. Although calves born from these cattle belonged to the proprietor, Lewgar could use their milk.³⁹ Evidence for dairying at St. John's comes from ceramic milk pans found at the site as well as architecture. Not long after the house was completed, Lewgar added a small dairy cellar off the hall room. Its four-foot-deep cellar, floored with cobblestones, provided a cool place for milk processing and storing butter and cheese. Dairying activities, most likely conducted by female servants and supervised by Ann Lewgar, provided a valuable source of food for the plantation inhabitants, a marketable commodity, and reproduced a key element of the traditional English diet in Maryland.

Archaeological analysis of the animal remains from the earliest deposits at St. John's reveals other aspects of the colonists' diet. Cattle served as the primary source of meat for the household, but deer ranked second. We know that Governor Calvert granted a license in 1643 "to an Indian called Peter to carry a gun for use of John Lewger." Some of the deer meat probably came from the efforts of this Maryland Indian. St. John's residents ate other wild game including raccoon, various species of wild ducks, Passenger Pigeons, and box turtles. They also consumed oysters and fish, especially the sheepshead. This once abundant Chesapeake Bay species was the most popular fish in early Maryland.⁴⁰ Given the remarkable natural bounty of the region and the settler's efforts in husbandry, it is clear that the Lewgars and their servants ate well.

Additional Duties

Government business and agriculture comprised just a portion of Lewgar's activities. Additionally, he served as a merchant, providing goods and credit to struggling planters and engaged to a limited extent in the fur trade, but his mercantile activities did not prove successful. A year after his arrival, Lewgar purchased servant Barnaby Jackson, a tailor, and in 1639 acquired blacksmith Thomas Oliver. Finally, in 1642, Lewgar brought Thomas Todd to Maryland. Todd, a skin dresser and glover, established a tanyard at St. John's to process the readily available deer skins. This is the first effort to introduce the craft of tanning and leather working to Maryland. By October 1642, Todd had forty-six skins in a lime pit, sufficient after they were dressed to make a dozen pairs of breeches and twelve pairs of gloves. Lewgar granted Todd his freedom at that time with the former servant's promise to dress "fifty good skins" for Lewgar during each of the following three years. Todd failed to meet his obligations, however, fell into debt, and fled Maryland in 1644.⁴¹

As second in command, perhaps the most significant of Lewgar's responsibilities lay in helping to implement Lord Baltimore's plans. Lewgar served as Lord Baltimore's attorney in Maryland and became the first attorney general for the colony in September 1644.⁴² From the start, Calvert intended that all Christians



John Lewgar's signature. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

would have the freedom to worship as their consciences dictated, and the first legal test of this policy arose in 1638. William Lewis, the Catholic overseer for the Jesuit plantation at St. Inigoes, had charge of a number of Protestant indentured servants. Their religious differences caused friction. The servants owned religious books that they would read to each other for spiritual guidance. One day, as Lewis later testified, when "coming into the roome where they were reading of a book, they read it aloud to the end he should heare it, and the matter being much reproachfull to his religion, vizt. that the Pope was Antichrist and the Jesuits, Antixpian ministers, etc., he told them it was a falsehood, & came from the Devill, as all lies did." The book in question was a collection of sermons by Henry Smith, one of the most popular Puritan preachers in Elizabethian England. Two servants testified that Lewis also said "that their ministers (innuendo the Protestants) were the ministers of the devill" and one claimed he banned the use or possession of any Protestant books in the house.⁴³ The servants, led by Robert Sedgrave, drew up a freedmen's petition of complaint for presentation to authorities in Virginia (one claimed it was intended for Maryland leaders). Lewis informed Thomas Cornwaleys of the situation and he, with Lewgar, met with the petitioners. Court proceedings soon followed, with John Lewgar, Cornwaleys, and Leonard Calvert sitting as judges. Trial testimony determined that Lewis had indeed said offending words but had only banned the one book, not the possession or reading of others. Lewgar ruled that Lewis was guilty of "offensive & indiscreete speech," was wrong in trying to prevent the reading of a book legal in England, and "his unseasonable disputations in point of religion tended to the disturbance of the publique peace & quiet of the colony." Cornwaleys and Calvert concurred with Lewgar's verdict and fined Lewis 500 lbs. of tobacco. This protection of Protestant rights by Catholic leaders against a Catholic set the legal precedent for Maryland's policy in religious manners. Three years later, a similar incident arose when Thomas Gerard, a Catholic with a Protestant wife and children, confiscated Protestant books stored in his chapel, locked the door, and took the key. Protestants drafted another peti-

tion and presented it to the Catholic leaders, including Lewgar, who found Gerard guilty, ordered him to return the books and key and pay a fine of 500 lbs of tobacco to be used "for maintenance of the first [Church of England] minister as should arrive."⁴⁴

Religious problems were a significant challenge in the young colony but so were relations with Chesapeake Indians. Upon their arrival in Maryland, Leonard Calvert took immediate steps to establish good relations with the Piscataway paramount chief and leaders of the Yaocomico settlement at St. Mary's. The governor made strong efforts to maintain this friendly rapport, with the aid of Jesuit missionary activities, particularly those of Andrew White. Although the local peoples were friendly, trouble came from the Susquehannock Indians to the north, a group that repeatedly attacked both Maryland Indians and colonists and some Eastern Shore tribes. This threat and the efforts to mount a military response to them occupied the governor and secretary on numerous occasions. Lewgar himself had relatively little contact with the Maryland Indians, writing "for my part, I scarce see an Indian in half a year, neither when I do see them have I language enough to ask an arrow of them."⁴⁵ Upon one occasion, however, he was directly involved in a memorable event, the baptism and marriage of the Tayac or paramount chief of the Piscataway People. Father Andrew White converted the Tayac named Kittamaquund, and baptized him, his wife and their baby on July 5, 1640, at the village of Piscataway on the Potomac. White later described the day in this way:

The Governor [Leonard Calvert] was present at the function, in company with the secretary [Lewgar]; nor was anything wanting that our means could supply to enhance the magnificence of this occasion. In the afternoon, the king and queen were united in matrimony according to the Christian rite. Then was erected a holy cross of no trifling proportions. To carry it to the spot chosen, the King, the Governor, the secretary, and the rest lent their hands and their shoulders; two of us meanwhile chanting the Litany of the Blessed Virgin.⁴⁶

In tragic contrast stands John Elkin's murder of the "king" of the Yaocomico on February 21, 1642/43. As his Lordship's attorney, Lewgar prepared charges against Elkin and assembled a jury. Although Elkin was clearly guilty of the murder and had even admitted this to Lewgar, the jury did not see it as a crime as the "the party was a pagan." On Calvert's instructions that the Yaocomico were at peace with Maryland and the laws applied to them as well, the jury again deliberated and found Elkin "guilty of murder in his own defence," a logical inconsistency for which they again received instruction to rethink the situation. Thus challenged, they returned a verdict that "he killed the Indian in his owne defence." Calvert

and Lewgar found this unacceptable and ruled that a new jury be assembled. That jury found Elkin guilt of manslaughter and fined the first jury for dereliction of duty.⁴⁷ Calvert and Lewgar made exceptional effort to demonstrate that Maryland law applied to friendly Native Peoples as well as the colonists.

A similar case arose a year later when John Dandy shot an Indian boy on Snowhill Manor, just north of St. Mary's City. The stomach wound led to the young man's death three days later in late February 1643/44. Lewgar issued a warrant for the sheriff to assemble a panel for viewing the body and they reported "we find that this Indian ladd (named Edward) came by his death by a bullet shott by John Dandy." Lewgar, with Giles Brent, presided over the trial at St. John's on March 18. The jury found Dandy guilty of murder and sentenced him to death. As the only gunsmith in Maryland, however, Dandy's specialized skills kept firearms operating—a particularly urgent need as war continued with the Susquehannocks. A petition underscored this point and Brent suspended the death sentence in return for Dandy serving the proprietary government for seven years.⁴⁸ The evidence is strong that Lewgar and the other leaders tried applying the law equitably to all the inhabitants of colony, including Maryland Indians.

But it was the religious issues that proved the most vexing to Lewgar. How to implement liberty of conscience in a government with no official state religion was new territory for everyone. Indeed, the Maryland experiment was a venture with little to guide it and many new questions arose that demanded answers for the government to function effectively.⁴⁹ In 1638, John Lewgar, the first to wrestle with these complex issues, composed "The Twenty Cases" while residing at St. John's. To understand this most important of his writings, one must see it against the background of the religious upheavals of the time.

Context

By the end of the Middle Ages, the structures of the Western Church needed reform. The Church's doctrine had absorbed some unscriptural ideas and its cumbersome administrative machinery fostered corruption through practices such as selling indulgences. Some monasteries, too, had declined from their original spiritual ideals, yet few agreed on what to do and how to do it. The Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope, locked in an international power struggle, dared not summon a General Council in a time of social and intellectual upheaval. Martin Luther and John Calvin sparked a protest against the Roman church that spread over northern Europe. Individual kings and princes chose one side or the other and sought to improve matters by promoting reform in their own lands.⁵⁰ At this juncture, King Henry VIII concentrated on maintaining Catholic doctrine and liturgy for his kingdom while uprooting the medieval accretions that he believed disfigured the Western (or Latin) Catholic Church. He was also determined to let the world know that the English clergy and people generally supported his English

Reformation. To that end, the monarch persuaded the Convocations of Canterbury and York as well as Parliament to acknowledge the king as the supreme governor of the Church in all things secular, which they did after much debate, but with the proviso "as far as the law of Christ doth allow." And he induced them to assert that "the Roman Pontiff has no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in the Holy Scriptures in this Kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop." The Reformation Parliament, which sat from 1529 to 1538, assured "our Holy Father the Pope" that the king and his subjects were "as obedient devout, catholic, and humble children of God and the Holy Church" as could be found anywhere in Christendom. In other words, the English Church initially had no intention of leaving the Catholic Church and becoming a breakaway, schismatic sect, like many of the Continental Reformation churches. But the situation changed. The stripping of the altars and destruction of so much ecclesiastical art in the reign of Edward VI was largely done to satisfy the excessive greed of lay officials such as the Duke of Northumberland, which began to be replaced under Queens Mary and Elizabeth. A key legal step occurred in 1559 when Queen Elizabeth had Parliament pass the "Acts of Supremacy and Conformity," establishing the Church of England as the only legitimate church.⁵¹ Under Elizabeth I, with the Queen's requirement that in the interest of the religious peace of the kingdom all of her subjects regularly attend Anglican worship in their parish churches or pay a fine, a deep chasm between the churches appeared.

For the Roman Catholic Church, Pope Paul III finally overcame objections and called a formal meeting known as the Council of Trent in 1545 to address the many problems. The council continued through three phases until 1563 when its work was approved by Pope Pius IV. This created a counter reformation, comparable to Queen Elizabeth's "settlement" of the Church of England. The nature of Roman Catholic belief was re-emphasized and the duties of Catholics more clearly defined. New religious orders arose, particularly the Society of Jesus, which took on educational and missionary roles in countering the Protestant Reformation.⁵²

Religious tensions were unavoidable during this era and Lord Baltimore was well aware of his sensitive position as a Catholic proprietor in an English empire. He made every effort to avoid even the suspicion that Maryland was a Roman Catholic province. Accordingly, as the first settlers were setting sail for the New World, he issued instructions to his brother, Governor Leonard Calvert, and to the other commissioners he had appointed that they:

be very carefull to preserve unity and peace amongst all the passengers on Shipp-board, and that they suffer no scandal nor other offence to be given to any of the Protestants, whereby any just complaint may heereafter be made, by them, in Virginia or England, and for that end, they cause all Acts of the Roman Catholique Religion to be done as privately as may be, and they instruct all the Roman Catholiques to be silent upon all occasions of dis-



Artist's painting of St. John's as it may have appeared in 1640. (Leslie Barker, Historic St. Mary's City.)

course concerning matters of Religion; and that the said Governor and Commissioners treat the Protestants with as much mildness and favor as Justice will permit. And this to be observed on Land as well as at sea.⁵³

Religion, church rights, and citizen rights were also topics that the Maryland Assembly struggled to address after the colony's establishment. At the first elected assembly, held at St. John's in February and March 1638/39, John Lewgar and Leonard Calvert continued efforts to have Lord Baltimore's legal code enacted. The legislators instead focused on English law and the Magna Carta as providing the framework for laws. At the end of this assembly, "To the Honour of God and the welfare of this province was Enacted as followeth . . . Holy Churches within the

province shall have all her rights and liberties, . . . The Lord Proprietarie shall have all his rights and prerogatives, . . . [and] The inhabitants of this Province shall have all their rights and liberties according to the great Charter of England." They modeled the church rights provision on that appearing in the Magna Carta, but it is of interest that church was made plural in the Maryland version, perhaps a tacit recognition of more than one religious belief. In any case, the passage is vague and subject to varied interpretations. A similar statement was approved in the next assembly meeting as well. But the question was what liberties and what church? Later legislation called for glebe land to be set aside on each manor to support a church, as per English custom, but that was all. In direct contrast to England, Lord Baltimore's plan called for parishioners to support their own church, not for the government to do so.⁵⁴

Adding to the complexity of this situation were the strikingly different assumptions about Maryland and the role of religion in the colony held by the Lord Baltimore and the Society of Jesus. Baltimore gave Jesuits the same rights as other gentleman adventurers to acquire land as individuals, not as a religious body, and to be self supporting, although they did have some special privileges out of respect for the clergy, such as no requirement for militia duty. He contemplated the Catholic Church being a private undertaking with no official recognition from the government. The Jesuits, as major financial backers of the colony's founding, understandably believed that they deserved some special favor and viewed Maryland as a Catholic country. Father Thomas Copley began demanding a variety of Church rights. Born in Spain, he was an energetic, well educated person with good talents and deep faith but, as the Jesuit Superior Henry More found, "deficient in judgement and prudence."⁵⁵ Copley bluntly argued that a Catholic proprietor should allow the Catholic Church in Maryland to have the traditional rights it possessed in Catholic countries, including ecclesiastical land ownership, sanctuary (implying freedom of clergy from civil jurisdiction), no obligation to pay taxes by the religious or their servants, control of marriage, wills, and other various testamentary procedures, etc. And if these were not allowed or a Catholic person voted to restrict church rights, Copley informed Lord Baltimore, it would constitute a violation of Roman canon law, perhaps leading the guilty party to be excommunicated under the 1627 Papal bull *In Coenae Domini*.⁵⁶ What Copley did not appreciate is the political reality that granting such privileges would have almost certainly ended Lord Baltimore's Maryland. The level of anti-Catholic feeling in England rose rapidly as Puritanism grew in strength and the balancing act for Cecil Calvert become increasingly more challenging. As one historian has written about England's Parliament in the late 1630s and early 1640s, "the issue that underlay all discussions of religion was that complex most conveniently designated as Popery, which was a preoccupation amounting to an obsession."⁵⁷ Any appearance of the Catholic Church as officially sanctioned would have had dire consequences for Maryland.

As John Krugler has perceptively put it, the growing demands from Thomas Copley and the Jesuits “forced Baltimore to confront his paradox: how to be Catholic without being too Catholic,” and Lewgar was caught in the same paradox.⁵⁸ It is against this ecclesiastical and political background that Lewgar’s “Twenty Cases” must be seen. As a public official in an English colony, and having responsibilities for judicial and testamentary administration, he strove to resolve his conflicted position as a Catholic, occasionally having to deviate from Roman Canon law in deference to the English Royal supremacy, Parliamentary acts, and even Anglican Canon law in order to forestall the cancellation of Lord Baltimore’s charter and the conversion of the Province of Maryland into a Royal colony like its neighbor, Virginia. In writing this document, Lewgar posed fundamental questions about the relationship of church and state, some of which are still not fully resolved today. How an individual met his religious duties and followed his conscience, while making legal decisions in a state that had multiple faiths and a separation between temporal and religious affairs was difficult to solve.

Lewgar posed these questions to church authorities and Lord Baltimore. They were about how should a Catholic “in a country (as this is) newly planted, and depending wholly upon England for its subsistence, where there is not (nor cannot be until England be reunited to the Church) any ecclesiastical discipline established . . . nor Spiritual Courts erected, nor the Canon Laws accepted,” act to honorably meet both his civil and religious obligations. Lewgar began by observing that “three partes of the people in foure (at least) are hereticks,” thus recognizing the hugely significant fact that the majority of Maryland’s population was already Protestant and that Catholics were a minority. The first question gives a good sense of how Lewgar framed the issue:

whether a lay Catholick can with a safe conscience take charge of government or of an office in such a country as this, where he may not nor dare discharge all the duties and obligations of a Catholick magistrate nor yield and maintayne to the Church all her rights and libertyes which she hath in other Catholick countries?⁵⁹

Unfortunately, no record of any answers Lewgar may have received is known, and we must infer them by the actions he and others later took. Nevertheless, “The Twenty Cases” is an extremely significant historical document. Considering that Lewgar posed these questions in the year 1638, he is the first known writer to grapple with these fundamental issues of church and state in English America, beginning a debate that continues down to the present day.

The church question soon reached the boiling point in the colony. As a missionary order, the Jesuits worked zealously and energetically to convert the local Native American peoples. In appreciation, the Indian chief of the Mattapany

tribe gave them a large section of his people's land. Previously, the Jesuits had acquired property from Lord Baltimore in return for their transportation of people to Maryland and they legally purchased tracts from other colonists. But receiving property directly from the Indians without Lord Baltimore's approval violated the charter rights giving him sole authority to grant land. Maryland's enemies would quickly note that the Jesuits, a religious order, owned the land outright and could then use that information against the proprietor. In this situation, Lord Baltimore reacted angrily and took firm, even frantic, steps to stop the potential threat. First, he forbade the Jesuits from owning land without his permission, then from going among the Indians without explicit authorization, and finally ordered his council to purchase the Jesuit owned house and property known as Chappell Land in St. Mary's City. He sent secular priests unaffiliated with any religious order to the colony and very nearly ordered the Jesuits out. Lord Baltimore even went so far as to invoke the principle behind King Edward I's Statute of Mortmain in 1279, which limited the acquisition of land by the medieval Church without the consent of the Sovereign.⁶⁰ The situation was exceptionally complicated. Maryland's Charter was threatened by Virginia interests, rising anti-Catholicism in England, and a rapidly escalating conflict between King and Parliament. Any granting of special privileges to the Jesuits could be construed as formal recognition of the Catholic Church in Maryland. And yet the Jesuits were devoting enormous energy to winning souls for the church and spreading the gospel, carrying out the very task for which the Society of Jesus had been founded and fulfilling one of the principal goals of the Maryland Charter. Expectations were in conflict, and the colonists themselves split into three factions.

Most Catholic settlers, led by Thomas Cornwaleys, strongly supported the Jesuit position. Protestant settlers opposed any granting of privileges to the priests or Catholic Church. Leonard Calvert and John Lewgar with the support of a few others championed Lord Baltimore's position while trying to reach workable compromises. Lewgar saw his duty to serve Lord Baltimore's interest and understood the shifting political situation in England better than most. But his religious convictions remained strong and fostered a great desire to maintain good relations with his pastors. Debate and anger appeared between the factions and an understanding only slowly emerged. In the end, the Jesuits agreed to keep their activities more private. They would acquire all land through Lord Baltimore, transfer ownership of Jesuit properties to private citizens who would serve as trustees, and recognize that most Church rights would not be extended to the colony. Many of the traditional church duties, such as maintaining marriage records, wills, estate settlements, and poor relief were secularized and managed by the government in Maryland, tasks that Lewgar initially undertook. These steps defused the immediate threat but another soon arrived in an English ship ironically bearing the name *Reformation*.

Captain Richard Ingle, Puritan and staunch supporter of Parliament, had traded for tobacco in Maryland and Virginia for a number of years. John Lewgar even purchased a large portion of Ingle's cargo in 1640 and both Leonard Calvert and Thomas Cornwaleys traveled to England on Ingle's ship. But in 1643, Ingle returned, filled with anti-royal and anti-papist animosity stoked by the ongoing Civil War. He openly spoke against the king, saying of Charles I that "the king is no king, nor will I acknowledge him for my king longer than he joines with the honorable house of Parliament" and considered Maryland a stronghold of royalist and papist. Lewgar and Giles Brent had Ingle arrested on the grounds of treason against the king, and held a trial in January 1643/44. The sheriff who arrested him, Edward Packer, and several of the guards lived with Lewgar at St. John's. Ingle was acquitted on a technicality and before a new trial could be arranged, escaped with the assistance of Thomas Cornwaleys and sailed for England.⁶¹ The following year, Ingle and the *Reformation* returned, launching a sneak attack on St. Mary's City. Lord Baltimore's forces were unprepared and the colony captured. Ingle took a Dutch merchant ship trading at St. Mary's as a prize, looted the Jesuit properties, Cornwaleys's estate, Lewgar's St. John's, and burned the Catholic Chapel and several other buildings during this period that became known as "The Plundering Time."⁶² Among the despicable acts was the burning of Father Copley's impressive library. John Lewgar witnessed its destruction, and as a scholar with a love of books, it must have been especially distressing. Lewgar estimated the library's value as being at least £100, an indication that Coley owned hundreds of volumes and perhaps the largest library in the Chesapeake region at that time.⁶³

Ingle ordered his men to take Lewgar, with Giles Brent and Fathers Andrew White and Thomas Copley as prisoners and then held them in the captured Dutch ship. They apparently seized Lewgar while he was in bed, for in later testimony, he stated that "one of the soldiers in compassion of [Lewgar's] nakedness gave him . . . a pair of shoes and stockings" to wear.⁶⁴ The raiding party left Ann Lewgar and the children to survive on what they left at St. John's. Later testimony reveals that the prisoners remained on the Dutch ship for a total of fourteen weeks and arrived in London in early June 1645. As Catholic priests the Jesuits remained imprisoned. Lewgar and Brent were released but required to testify. The Admiralty Court began taking testimony about Ingle's actions on June 13 as he had claimed the Dutch ship as a prize. He argued that Maryland was hostile to the Parliamentary cause and supported the King and that the Catholic leaders oppressed Protestants. He justified his actions on that basis, supported by a letter of marque that Parliament had issued him. The Admiralty court ruled against Ingle who appealed the case to the Court of Delegates. John Lewgar, then staying "at the house of John Webber, a hosier near Fleet Conduit," testified in August 1645. Still in London in mid-September he probably returned to Maryland when the tobacco fleet sailed in October or early November.⁶⁵

Although his family warmly welcomed him home, he found the colony in a bleak state. Rebellious Protestants, under the leadership of Lewgar's former neighbor Nathaniel Pope, still controlled Maryland. At some point during 1646, his wife Ann died, leaving Lewgar with an eighteen-year-old son and two young daughters, Cecilia and Ann. In November 1646, Lord Baltimore reappointed Lewgar and Leonard Calvert as collectors of all rents and duties owed to the proprietor, and the secretary recorded the assembly meeting held at St. Inigoes Fort on December 29, 1646/47. A few days later, on January 2, he took an Oath of Fidelity to Lord Baltimore. John Lewgar's final act in Maryland, for which we have documentary evidence, is a charge he filed as Lord Baltimore's attorney against six men who were trying to create trouble and making false statements against Governor Leonard Calvert in late January 1646/47.⁶⁶

All these vexatious troubles and the loss of his wife apparently induced Lewgar to give it all up in 1647 and go back to England for good. We know that Lewgar was not present when Leonard Calvert died in early June 1647, and it is hard to believe he would not have been there at the death of his friend and long time colleague if still in the colony. Most likely, Lewgar departed for England with the tobacco fleet in February or March, leaving his nineteen-year-old son, John Jr. in charge of St. John's. When the assembly again met at St. John's in January 1647/48, during which Margaret Brent made her famous appeal for the right to vote, John Lewgar Sr. was not present but his son received payment for "the use of his house."⁶⁷

Traveling with Lewgar to England were his two daughters, Ann named for their mother, and Cecilia, named for Cecil Calvert. How old the daughters were is uncertain, but they were born in Maryland, and thus younger than ten years. There is no evidence as to what happened to them. Lewgar may have raised them or perhaps he sought out a female relative to help care for the children.⁶⁸ It was at this time that he made another life-changing decision—a return to his original vocation of Christian ministry. He applied for Holy Orders, and with the support of his influential patron, Lord Baltimore, was ordained a secular priest in the Roman Catholic Church in 1647. Subsequently, Lewgar requested admission to the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits, aware of his past and suspicious of his motives, declined admission. Lewgar had sided with Lord Baltimore against their interests in Maryland and thwarted their aspirations to acquire land from the Indians. Additionally, Chillingworth, who had persuaded Lewgar to convert to Rome, later renounced Catholicism and returned to the Church of England. The instructions from the Jesuit general to the English Provincial Henry Silesdon on December 28, 1647, reveals their cautious approach, "Put off Mr. Lewgar for a year or two, try his constancy; and then admit him or not into the Society, as shall seem good."⁶⁹ Although the Jesuits clearly doubted his commitment to the ancient faith, Lewgar had experienced a sincere conversion and held a deep dedication to Rome.

Lord Baltimore, with respect and appreciation for Lewgar's service, made him his personal chaplain at his Wild-street residence in London, a post the former secretary held for the rest of his life.⁷⁰ There is nothing to tell us exactly what Lewgar did in the decade following his ordination, but it is most plausible that he served in a key advisory role as Lord Baltimore restructured his Maryland enterprise, initiated the Act Concerning Religion, and fought the hostile forces trying to revoke the charter during the 1650s. Lewgar's "boots on the ground" experience and education would have been particularly valuable to Cecil Calvert. It is likely that Lewgar had a role in reviewing and editing, if not actually helping to write *The Lord Baltemores Case concerning the province of Maryland* (1653, London), a defense of the charter.

His role as a scholar and theologian emerged once more in the late 1650s. Lewgar published his first work, *The only way to rest of the soule, in religion here, in heaven hereafter, shewed plainly and succinctly by pure scripture, in three treatises*, in 1657. Its title page reads "By I.L., Bach of Div. Licensed by the university of Oxford, to preach throughout England, and late rector of L. in the county of S. now Catholike."⁷¹ He later wrote two other tracts, *Erasmus Junior* and *Erasmus Senior*, that challenged the authority of the bishops and the legitimacy of the Church of England. Publishing pamphlets was a common method of fighting intellectual arguments at the time and many thousands of such treatises were printed in the seventeenth century. But Lewgar intended this first work, "*The only way to rest the soule*" as a spiritual aid for strengthening the reader's religious convictions and devotion through reason and biblical citations.

The final mention of John Lewgar in Maryland records occurred in 1663. In a letter from Charles Calvert to his father Lord Baltimore, Charles says "The Warrant wch yr Lopp mentions Mr. Lewger has for me as Receiver came to me, & I have given Capt. Tully 10 lbs. to pay him it being for the first paymt & shall not fiale to pay as much yearly till 7 yeares be expired as long as I continue Receiver."⁷² Apparently a pension, this payment of £10 annually for eight years to the former secretary recognized his years of colonial service. Unfortunately, Lewgar received little benefit from it. In 1665, the last major outbreak of plague occurred in London and John Lewgar "died of the plague in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields near to London, in sixteen hundred sixty and five, by too much exposing himself in helping and relieving poor Rom. Catholics."⁷³ Buried at St. Giles-in-the-Fields, probably in a mass grave with other victims, he is interred in the same graveyard into which his friend and patron Cecil Calvert would be laid to rest a decade later.

Final Thoughts

There are differing assessments of John Lewgar, the man. Thomas Cornwaleys told Lord Baltimore in a letter that "I doubt not but your secretary will supply [information] who is as quick as I am slow in writing, and therefore in that part a

very fit subject for the place he bears, and if he proves not too stiff a maintainer of his own opinions, and somewhat too forward in suggesting new business for his own employment, he may perhaps do God and your Lordship good service here."⁷⁴ Cornwaleys and Lewgar strongly disagreed on the place of the church in Maryland government and other matters, so his mixed assessment is not surprising. Leonard Calvert, on the other hand, viewed Lewgar as a loyal and talented aid. Writing to his brother Lord Baltimore in 1638, he said "Mr. Lewger is a very serviceable and diligent man in his secretaries place in Maryland, and a very faithfull and able assistant to me."⁷⁵ Four years later, Lord Baltimore wrote in reappointing Lewgar to the Secretary and Judge posts that he had "long experience of the abilities & industry of our trusty and wellbeloved Councilor John Lewger Esq in performing unto us good and faithfull service in our said Province of Maryland, & reposing especiall trust in his wisdome diligence & experience."⁷⁶ Without question, Lord Baltimore had great respect for Lewgar, relied upon him for advice, and to guide and administer his government.

The foremost authority on Lewgar, Dr. Garry Wheeler Stone, is of the opinion that he was a very devoted and capable official, but Lewgar's financial endeavors proved less than satisfactory. As a part-time merchant and owner of a trading ketch involved in fur trade with the Indians that did not prove as lucrative as he had hoped, Lewgar found himself involved in endless lawsuits to recover bad debts, and as a result fell into debt and eventually became weary of politics and quarrels. Stone concluded that Lewgar:

did much good service, but experience and personality poorly equipped him to further his own interests or those of Lord Baltimore. Until his arrival in Maryland, he had spent most of his adult years in the halls and cloisters of Oxford. Three academic degrees had prepared him to be a judge, a scribe, and an accountant; and [seven] years as a [rural parish priest] had given him some exposure to farming. Neither had prepared him to be a merchant, a councilor, or a legislative lobbyist. Part of his inadequacy was due to inexperience, but part was due to personality. Seemingly, Lewgar lacked both charisma and perception to see how his words and actions were affecting others.⁷⁷

Even so, Lewgar did establish sound legal principles for the colony and dutifully recorded assembly deliberations, the laws passed, wrote land patents and made surveys, collected rents, and judged court cases ranging from pig stealing to murder. Diligent is a word repeatedly applied to Lewgar, and it is through his careful record keeping that we know much about the struggles, successes, and failures of Maryland during its first decade. In court proceedings, he served as an honest, fair, impartial judge who strove to implement English law in the newly evol-



Palm rosary found in the St. John's construction trench. (Historic St. Mary's City.)

ing context of early Maryland, sometimes even to his own detriment. This is best illustrated by a 1643 case in which Thomas Cornwaleys filed a suit against Leonard Calvert, John Langford and Lewgar. Lord Baltimore had ordered his council to purchase the chapel and chapel land at St. Mary's City from the Jesuits to avoid ownership problems. Cornwaleys negotiated the agreement on behalf of the Jesuits for £200 and issued a bill of exchange. When Lord Baltimore learned of the arrangement, he refused to pay (probably lacking the means to do so) and ordered the property returned, wanting all proceedings on this issue to cease until he could come to the colony.⁷⁸ The proprietor's action greatly offended Cornwaleys who then sued Baltimore's councilors for £400 damages. Giles Brent questioned Lewgar on whether to proceed, and the secretary first replied that conflict of interest prevented him from rendering an opinion. Brent demanded an answer, and Lewgar stated that Brent had the power "and obligation to do justice without delay."⁷⁹ A suit of this magnitude would have

totally destroyed Lewgar's estate and ruined him. Fortunately, Cornwaleys did not go through with the case, but Lewgar had no way of knowing that at the time. His legal opinion rested on the basis of principle, not self interest. At other times, Lewgar ruled against Leonard Calvert, regardless of their friendship. Although not charismatic or a popular leader, he was honest, loyal, and respected as a man of principle.

John Lewgar played a major role in Maryland's beginnings. A scholar and clergyman by training, he held three university degrees, and was one of the first in the colony to have a graduate-level education. He was Maryland's first bureaucrat, holding a wide variety of important offices, establishing procedures, and carefully recording the development of the proprietary government. Lewgar's intellectual background perhaps made him more sensitive to ideas and principles than to people, as Garry Stone has noted. But it did prepare him for the essential role of implementing Lord Baltimore's "Maryland Design." Creating a new society that had no official state church and made clear distinctions between government and religion, while providing liberty of conscience to its citizens, proved a difficult and laborious struggle and often conflicted with both public opinion and the spirit of the times. He understood, through his own conversion and consequent loss of career and income, the cost of loyalty to faith. When given power as the first legal officer of the colony, Lewgar insured liberty of conscience and established a sterling precedent for how law should be administered in Maryland. Although history has largely forgotten John Lewgar, he most decidedly earned recognition as one of the individuals who truly built the key elements of early Maryland society and made its greatest legacy, religious freedom, a reality. A material relic of that legacy survives at St. John's, one that clearly symbolizes the spirit of Calvert's vision and demonstrates Lewgar's faith in the experiment.

The object is a small rosary discovered in the construction ditch of the St. John's house. This context suggests that it was placed there while the house was being built, perhaps intended to help bless the house and its residents. Called a palm rosary, it is only one "decade" long (ten beads representing ten Hail Mary prayers) with a brass loop where a cross would normally be placed. Shorter than the standard five decade rosary, a palm rosary allowed this popular Roman Catholic prayer to be said while the beads were concealed in the hand. The iron loop was moved from finger to finger to keep track of the sequence until all five decades were prayed. Such an object was important in a land where persecution of Roman Catholics was ongoing and public worship forbidden. Yet in Maryland, discarding a rosary once used for secret worship is a powerful symbol of the greater opportunity for religious liberty that Calvert offered his settlers—and Lewgar helped them achieve.

Notes

We dedicate this article to Garry Wheeler Stone who led the effort to restore John Lewgar to historical memory, and conducted a substantial share of the research on the St. John's site and Lewgar's career. We also thank Kay Kersting Elsasser of the Library of Congress and a fellow descendant with Middleton of John Lewgar, for her assistance; Lois Green Carr for the extensive research she has conducted to understand early Maryland and Lewgar's place in it; Anne Grulich for her research on Lewgar's English publications; artist Les Barker for her images of St. John's; Donald Winter for graphics assistance; and Historic St. Mary's City for permission to use the graphics.

1. Aubrey C. Land, *Colonial Maryland, A History* (New York: Kraus International Publications (1981): 38–39. A brief biography and summary of Lewgar's official posts is provided in Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson: *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, 2 Vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979, 1985), 2: 533.

2. Clayton C. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland 1633–1684* (1910, reprint New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), 70–112. It has been suggested that Lewgar visited Maryland late in 1635, Leon Bernard, "Some New Light on the Early Years of the Baltimore Plantation," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 44 (1949): 93–100. However, no independent documentation that he did so has come to light. In fact, the evidence suggests that Lewgar was in Laverton in 1634 and the information provided by Papal Envoy Panzani places him in London from mid-1635 into 1636, looking for employment. See also Marie Henry Kuhlman, *Southern Colonial Ancestors Henry and Clark Descendants: Virginia and Maryland lines of Baldridge, Booker, Booth, Brannon . . .* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1998), 349.

3. The name Lewgar appears in the records of John's day as both "Lewgar" and "Lewger," but there is good reason to believe that it was pronounced "Loo-ger," not "Loo-ger." For his origins, there is confusion. Kuhlman in *Southern Colonial Ancestors*, 350 (citing Alice Norris Parran, *Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families*), states that John Lewgar was "the 3rd son of Gregory Lewger of Halsted, Essex, listed in the Visitation of Norfolk, 1613, under the registration of his brother, Philip"; also see *Harleian Society Publications*, Vol. 40: 188–89. However, Dr Michael Mullett, professor at Lancaster College, England, wrote in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) that Lewgar was from a long established Suffolk family and perhaps the son of scrivener Philip Lugar of Chancery Lane, baptized at St. Dunstan-in-the-West, London, in late 1601. Future research will be necessary to clarify this question of origins. We have used Mullett's scenario here. In either case, the family was from East Anglia.

4. Anthony Wood *Athenae Oxoniensis*, edited by Philip Blake, Four Volumes. London: 1813. Vol.4: 696–97; Joseph Foster *Athenae Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500–1714*. Four Volumes. Oxford: 1891-1892. Kraus Reprint 1968, Vol. 3: 905; Consignation Books 1629, Diocese of Bath and Wells. Somerset Record Office, Taunton, England. For information on the Oxford curriculum Lewgar would have taken, see Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959). There is confusion in the available documentation regarding the benefices Lewgar held. All records agree that he held one in Laverton, but there is mention of him also receiving a benefice in Essex in 1632. Although ministers sometimes held multiple benefices, the distance would have made it im-

possible for Lewgar to care for two congregations. The nature of this second appointment, if it in fact occurred, needs more research to resolve.

5. Margaret Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory: The Diocese of Bath and Wells in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1982), 67, 74.

6. *Ibid.*, 72, 129, 332.

7. John Collinson, *The History & Antiquities of the County of Somerset* 1791: 212.

8. Original Survey in the Somerset Record Office, Taunton, England, provided by I. P. Collis, transcription by Garry Stone and Lois Carr. On file at Historic St. Mary's City.

9. Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory*: 310–14.

10. *Ibid.*, 297–301.

11. At that time, military victories were undermining the royal forces during the brutal Civil War, leading to the capture of King Charles I. In a politically complex situation, the king declined the offer of his life and crown if he would consent to parliamentary authority and reduce the English Church to a more Protestant sect, and was himself beheaded in 1649. Under Cromwell's subsequent Commonwealth, bishops were driven out and heavy penalties imposed on all who used the *Book of Common Prayer*. As a result, the Anglican Church was suppressed for nearly a decade. It was only restored to power after the Restoration of King Charles II in 1660. There is a huge literature on the English Civil War. A few references are Ivan Roots, *The Great Rebellion: 1642–1660* (London: Botsford Press, 1966); J. P. Kenyon, *The Civil Wars of England* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988). The Interregnum is well covered by Ronald Hutton, *The English Republic 1649–1660* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Press, 2000). On the death of Charles I, see Clive Holmes, *Why Was Charles I Executed?* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006).

12. William Chillingworth (1602–1644) in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Robert R. Off, *Reason and Authority: The Thought of William Chillingworth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967); F. L. Cross, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 349; for Lewgar's conversion quote, see Sebastian F. Streeter, "The First Catholic Secretary, John Lewgar," *Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1876) 219–20.

13. William Chillingworth, *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation; or an Answer to a book Entitled Mercy and Truth or Charity Maintained by Catholiques; which pretends to prove the contrary* (1637).

14. Chillingworth's argument was published as a letter in a volume of his works, and his case along with Lewgar's reply were also printed. William Chillingworth, "Reasons against popery in a letter from Mr. Williams Chillingworth to his friend Mr. Lewgar, perswading him to return to his mother, the Church of England, from the corrupt Church of Rome," *The Works of Williams Chillingworth: In Three Volumes*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1838) II: 492–99; and "A Conference betwixt Mr. Chillingworth and Mr. Lewgar," *The Works of William Chillingworth*, 3: 278–307.

15. A successor to Lewgar was instituted at Laverton on July 14, 1635. John Farewell served the parish for nearly forty-seven years, dying in June of 1682 (taken from the Farewell's tombstone at the church). Consignation books, Diocese of Bath and Wells, Somerset Records Office, Taunton, England (Data provided by I. P. Collis). Also see Garry Wheeler Stone "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewgar's St. John's" (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982), 85. When the Lewgars arrived in Maryland, the family consisted of John, his wife Ann, and a son John Jr., age nine years, Patents 1: 17, 19, Maryland State Archives.

16. Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*. Four Volumes (London

and New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907-1917) I: 354-55, 359. Gregory Panzani was the Papal Nuncio in London, sent by Cardinal Barberini on behalf of Pope Urban VIII: He spoke no English and thus communicated in Latin. With Lewgar's education and Latin remaining a language of scholarship, conversation with him would not have been difficult. Panzani kept up on the latest gossip in London and sent a steady stream of correspondence back to Rome, not all of which was reliable. His statements about Lewgar seem credible, however.

17. Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: 360; *The Calvert Papers* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1889), Fund Publication 28, I:195.

18. William Hand Browne, et al., editors, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-1972) III: 53-55 (hereinafter cited *Arch. Md.*). In regard to his association with Calvert, Anthony Wood wrote that Lewgar had been Lord Baltimore's "intimate acquaintance while he was a gent. com. of Trin. Coll." at Oxford. *Athenae Oxoniensis* (1813): 697. Lewgar was the second Secretary for Maryland. The first was John Bolles who sailed on the *Ark* in 1633 and was charged with reading Lord Baltimore's instructions to the colonists. He disappears from Maryland records after 1636 and probably died, thus accounting for Lewgar's appointment to that post in 1637. Harry Wright Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1984), 176.

19. Patents I: 17, 19, MSA; Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 156-58). David Jordan believes Lewgar wrote this legal code for Cecil Calvert, see David W. Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government in Maryland 1632-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 37.

20. *The Calvert Papers* 1:189.

21. Lord Baltimore's code was not fully implemented by the assembly to his satisfaction until 1650. For a thorough discussion of the development of the Maryland assembly and the legal system, see Jordan, *Foundations of Representative Government*.

22. Later in 1644, Lewgar expanded this tract and it became St. John's Manor. Lord Baltimore also made him the lord of the thousand-acre Manor of St. Anne with the right to hold Courts Leet and Baron (a survival of medieval English custom). The most comprehensive study of John Lewgar and his role in early Maryland remains Garry Wheeler Stone's unpublished doctoral dissertation "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewger's St. John's," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982).

23. *Arch. Md.*, I: 28, 32.

24. Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture": 350-73. Also see Garry Wheeler Stone, "St. John's: Archaeological Questions and Answers," *MdHM* 69(1974): 146-68.

25. Typical houses in mid-seventeenth-century Maryland were around 15 ft. x 20 ft. to 20 ft. x 25 ft., Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 210.

26. William M. Kelso, *Jamestown: The Buried Truth* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2006), 80-106.

27. Garry Wheeler Stone, "The Roof Leaked, But the Price was Right: The Virginia House Reconsidered," *MdHM*, 99 (2004): 313-28; also see Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William Kelso, Garry W. Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 16 (1981): 135-96.

28. Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 270-71.

29. *Ibid.*, 272.

30. The East Anglian origins of St. John's was first recognized by Cary Carson while researching colonial architectural precedents in England. Immigrants to New England from East Anglia also constructed a number of similar houses, see Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979). Architectural historians in Cambridgeshire classify the St. John's plan as an "I" or "J" type of house, *An*

Inventory of Historical Monuments in the County of Cambridge, Volume 1: West Cambridgeshire (England: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1968), xlvii–xlix.

31. Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," Table 3-1, page 92.

32. Thomas Gerard, *The Particular Description of the County of Somerset*, No. 15 (Somerset Records Society, 1900).

33. By social custom, clergy did no physical labor, but could provide supervision. Cases of the clergy plowing land or performing other manual tasks like cutting hay were brought before church courts, Stieg, *Laud's Laboratory*, 208–11.

34. Garry Stone deciphered the circumstances behind Lewgar's desire to own marshland, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 102–104.

35. *Calvert Papers* I: 206; Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 36; *Arch. Md.* III: 142.

36. It was from this herd that Margaret Brent later paid the soldiers in 1647, during "the time of troubles," thereby saving the colony from further disruption and perhaps destruction. *Arch. Md.* IV: 275–78; Lewgar to Lord Baltimore, January 5, 1638/39, *Calvert Papers* I, 10: 198–99.

37. *Ibid.*, 277–78; Henry M. Miller, *Killed By Wolves: Analysis of Sheep Burials from the St. John's Site and a Comment on Sheep Husbandry in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake*, St. Mary's City Research Series 1. (St. Mary's City, Maryland: 1986).

38. *Arch. Md.*, IV: 305.

39. *Arch. Md.*, III: 142.

40. *Ibid.*: 143. Henry M. Miller, "Colonization and Subsistence Change on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake Frontier," (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1984).

41. Stone, "Society, Housing and Architecture," 130–34, discusses Lewgar's merchant activities. For reference about Thomas Todd, see *Arch. Md.*, IV: 243, 283.

42. The earliest evidence of him serving as Lord Baltimore's attorney is a January 16, 1637/38, case filed against Henry Fleet, *Arch. Md.* IV: 5. The Attorney General commission is found in *Arch. Md.* III: 158.

43. The Lewis Case is found in *Arch. Md.* IV: 35–38.

44. For the Gerard Chapel case, see *Arch. Md.* I: 119.

45. Lewgar to Lord Baltimore, January 5, 1638/39, *The Calvert Papers* I, #10: 198. The comment about arrows relates to the Maryland charter that required Lord Baltimore to present two Indian arrows each year to the King at Windsor Castle as payment for the colony.

46. Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: 345, Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 131.

47. *Arch. Md.* IV: 177–80, 182–83.

48. *Ibid.* IV: 254–55, 260.

49. The most recent and authoritative study of the Lords Baltimore and their Maryland Design is John D. Krugler, *English and Catholic: the Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004). For a specific look at their approach to religion in early Maryland, see John Krugler, "The Calvert Vision: A New Model for Church-State Relations," *MdHM*, 99 (2004): 269–86.

50. See Diamaid McCulloch, *The Reformation: A History* (New York: Viking Adult, 2004); Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

51. On the Henrician Reformation, see Gordon Crosse, *A Short History of the English Reformation* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1950) 24–37. For another view of the English Reformation and insights on Elizabeth I's religious enforcement, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

52. R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540–1770* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998): 10–41.

53. Hall, *Narrative of Early Maryland*, 16.

54. *Arch. Md.* I: 82–83. See Krugler, “The Calvert Vision,” for insights on these debates and Lord Baltimore’s position.
55. Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: 365–66, 422. Also see Edwin Beitzell, “Thomas Copley, Gentleman,” *MdHM*, 47 (1952): 215–19.
56. Letter from Copley to Lord Baltimore, April 3, 1638, *Calvert Papers* I: #7:158–61.
57. Stieg, *Laud’s Laboratory*, 23.
58. Krugler, *English and Catholic*, 172.
59. Lewgar’s “cases” are found in Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: 158–59.
60. For more detailed discussions of Lord Baltimore’s moves in this conflict with the Jesuits, see Krugler, *English and Catholic*, 163–91, and Timothy B. Riordan, *The Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004), 52–85.
61. *Arch. Md.* IV: 241–51.
62. The best discussion of Ingle’s Rebellion currently available is Riordan, *The Plundering Time*.
63. *Ibid.*, 251–52.
64. “Thomas Cornwallis Plaintiff Vs. Richard Ingle, Defendant. Testimony of John Lewger and Cuthbert Fenwick 1645–1646,” *Chronicles of St. Mary’s*, 26 (1978): 1–8.
65. *Ibid.*, 2; For a review of the English court proceedings with Ingle, see Riordan, *The Plundering Time*, 239–57.
66. *Arch. Md.* I: 209, III: 172, 174, 175–76.
67. *Arch. Md.* I: 214–15, 230.
68. The headright for the Lewgars mentions only John Jr. as coming with them in 1637 (Patents 1:17, 19). John Jr. later moved to Charles County where he died in 1669, leaving two children. Cecilia is named as “Cicily Lewger” in the July 1644 will of Edward Parker, but there are no further references to her, *Arch. Md.* IV: 73. An Ann Lewgar arrived in Maryland in 1658 as the wife of William Tettershall. Lord Baltimore granted her five hundred acres of land in August 1661 (Patents 4: 568, 618); this gift of land suggests that she is John Lewgar’s daughter.
69. Hughes, *Society of Jesus*, I: #6U: 35–36.
70. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 697.
71. He followed this with *Erastus Junior. Or, A fatal blow to the clergie’s pretensions to divine right*. The second part was titled *Erastus junior: Demonstrating, by their forms of Ordination, Acts of Parliament, and other mediums owned by themselves, that none of our ministers ordained by imposition of hands, hath any power of order*, published under the alias Josiah Webb. Both were printed in London, with Part 1 in 1659 and Part 2 in 1660. He followed them two years later with *Erastus Senior: scholastically demonstrating this conclusion, That those called Bishops here in England, are no bishops. Wherein is answered to all that hath been said, in vindication of them, by mr. Mason, in his Vindiciae Ecclesiae Anglicanae, doctor Hylein, or doctor Mramhall.* (1662), unnamed author, but the initials JL are on the title page. *Erastus Junior* and *Erastus Senior* were controversial scholarly tracts, intended to refute the Church of England’s assertion that it was as much a part of the Holy Catholic Church as were the Roman and Orthodox Churches, and reiterating the papal rejection of the claim of the Anglican Church by maintaining that the Roman Church was the whole Catholic Church, and everyone out of its communion were heretics and schismatics. Lewgar probably employed the name Erastus because of an idea circulating at the time called Erastianism. This term refers to the concept that the state is absolutely supreme over the church. Erastianism was prominently debated in the Westminster Assembly, a parliamentary religious committee (1643–1649) from which developed the principal documents of the Presbyterian Church. One faction in the conference argued the Erastian position that the state had total control over ecclesiastical law,

thus not allowing any legal separation between religion and government. The Westminster Assembly rejected this view, but it remained a subject of debate in mid-seventeenth-century England. Lewgar had deeply pondered this very issue during his time in Maryland. See Bernard Ward, "Erastus and Erastianism," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume 5 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909).

72. *The Calvert Papers* 1 #14: 238.

73. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 4: 698.

74. *The Calvert Papers* 1 #8: 179.

75. Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 158.

76. *Arch. Md.*, III: 116.

77. Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture," 63.

78. *Arch. Md.* III: 135–37, 143. Cecil Calvert instructed acting governor Giles Brent (Leonard Calvert was then in England) to stop all proceedings until he could personally come to Maryland and settle things. The time period is relevant. Wardour Castle, the home of Cecil's wife, Anne Arundell, had been besieged and captured by Parliamentary forces in May 1643, after a valiant stand by her mother Blanche Arundell. Calvert's own residence of Hook House, only 1.5 miles distant, was probably looted as well, and the livestock herds taken. When he wrote this communication to Maryland, Lord Baltimore was in Bristol, a port only recently captured by Royalist forces, and he was seriously contemplating escaping the war and coming to his colony. His finances must have been at a very low point. See A. D. Saunders and R. P. Pugh, *Old Wardour Castle* (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1968).

79. *Arch. Md.*, IV: 217–18, 243–44, 263.

“A Formidable Enemy in Our Bay”: Maryland and the British Invasion of the Chesapeake, 1780–1781

Robert W. Tinder

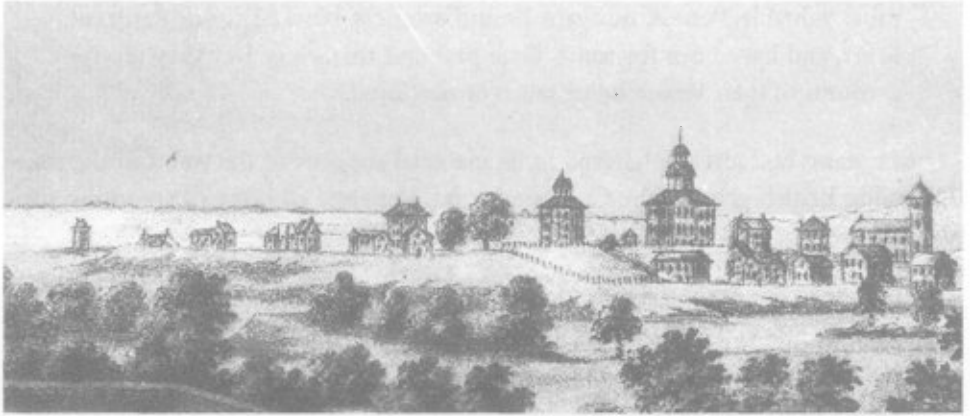
The quill pen scratched across the piece of foolscap as Maryland governor Thomas Sim Lee wrote an impassioned plea to the Continental Congress on July 28, 1780, his second letter begging for American warships to break the British stranglehold on the Chesapeake Bay. His first appeal had left Annapolis on June 12 with a resolution from the general assembly imploring Congress to defend the strategic two-hundred-mile-long waterway that stretched from the Atlantic coast of Virginia through Maryland reaching almost to the Pennsylvania border. Maryland’s survival, and that of the nation, hinged on control of the Chesapeake. The resolution had urged Congress to “direct one of the continental frigates to protect the trade from this State and Virginia, and . . . to order . . . that one of the frigates convoy the fleets from this bay.” Lee’s first letter, and the assembly’s resolution, remained unanswered.¹

More than a month had passed. Enemy warships and privateer vessels swarmed the Chesapeake’s waters attacking merchant ships, causing appalling losses. Disturbing reports had reached Annapolis. “A fleet of 25 sail of the enemy’s vessels” had attacked a convoy of thirty ships attempting to reach the Atlantic, wrote businessman John Taylor from Williamsburg. The American ships had retreated “up James River past this town & the enemy remain at Hampton Road.” Other warships, eighteen- and twenty-gun sloops of war sailing with privateers from loyalist strongholds such as New York City and parts of Maryland’s Eastern Shore scoured the bay, ambushing vessels and conducting terrorizing attacks on shore communities.²

Even before the thirteen colonies had declared independence in July 1776, British naval forces had used blunt violence to dominate the Chesapeake.³ Throughout the war, those same forces maintained a tight grip, making commercial shipping a risky and sometimes deadly business. In recent months, however, the number and firepower of warships had dramatically increased, leading to a swelling in the number and ferocity of attacks along the bay’s coasts and deep into its rivers.

Loyalist and criminal gangs added to the increased terror from the square-rigged warships. Taylor reported “upwards of twenty prizes taken lately in the bay by small boats.” The pirates, or picaroons, hid in the bay’s innumerable coves and

The author, an independent historian, is a frequent contributor to this journal.



View of Annapolis, 1797. During the Revolution Governor Thomas Sim Lee, at work in Annapolis, pleaded with the Continental Congress for financial help. (Maryland Historical Society.)

inlets waiting to pounce on vessels sailing from busy ports such as Baltimore and Annapolis. On July 26, Henry Hooper, a Dorchester County militia commander, had written an anguished appeal for help. "There are several small Tory-Boats cruising in Hoopers Straights and Tangier sound they are daily taking some of our Craft and . . . plunder our Islands of Cattle and sheep." The new attacks occurred only seventy miles from Annapolis. "Wicomoco and Nanticoke Rivers are entirely blocked up by these Pickaroons." Hooper had sent his poorly armed men "in quest of these Banditti," but he desperately needed reinforcements to take on the pirates who operated "a Barge of thirty-two oars and thirty-three men, mounts one or two swivel guns." Hooper asked Lee to send an armed vessel, or at the least "swivel guns and ball," for arming a local boat.⁴

But Lee could offer scant aid to the militia commander. As he sat down to compose a second letter to the Continental Congress he knew that his government, exhausted from the effects of the long war, could not defend its own waters. Now, on July 28, after receiving a shocking message from Maryland's principal port, Baltimore, Lee urgently prepared a second appeal to Philadelphia. He addressed the letter to Maryland's delegates to the Congress. His quill pen scratching across the parchment recorded a succinct account of the growing peril. Enemy raiders had created a human and financial disaster. "Our Coast has lately been much infested with the Privateers and Cruisers of the Enemy, our trade and navigation obstructed and many of our Vessels captured, to the great Detriment of the Public, Ruin of some, and Distress of many of our Merchants." Enemy attacks had strangled Maryland's seaborne commerce, a source of revenue the state could not do without:

We have just received a Letter from the commercial Gentlemen of Baltimore representing, that the Successes of small armed Vessels, have invited a very formidable Enemy into our Bay, and that not less than twenty of their

most valuable Vessels, outward bound are now blocked up in Patuxent River, and have been for some Time past and that every Day they receive accounts of their Vessels being taken or destroyed.⁵

Maryland had already faltered in its material support of the war and the ever-tightening British grip on the Chesapeake extinguished all hope of resuming supply shipments:

This Representation of the Distresses and Embarrassments of the Trade and Navigation," Lee argued, "cannot fail to induce [Congress] to order such a Number of Frigates to be stationed at the Capes of Chesapeake, as will afford ample Protection to the Commerce.

Lee's courier completed the one hundred twenty-six-mile journey in fewer than three days, placing the letter into the hands of delegate John Hanson, who acted promptly on the appeal and wrote that he had "yesterday laid [the letter] before Congress." Hanson knew, however, that nothing would come of the request. "Tho Congress are disposed to do every thing to Comply with the requisition yet I fear it is not in their power to yield Any protection at all at present." In the four years since the new nation had declared independence, the British had mauled the Continental Army and American forces stood shockingly depleted. Only through the French intervention, with money, troops, and a naval squadron, could General Washington continue the fight. The Continental Navy had been devoured, and by the end of the war not one of the thirteen frigates that Congress had ordered built in 1776 flew the American flag. Three were destroyed to prevent capture and several others surrendered and turned against the United States. "I think we have only four frigates," Hanson wrote to Lee, "and those are to join the French fleet at present much inferior to that of the British which is now off Rhode Island." Nine days later Samuel Huntington, president of Congress, denied Lee's request. Maryland, already drained by the war's terrible cost, would have to face the expanding power of the enemy in the Chesapeake alone.⁶

On the Brink of Collapse

Thomas Sim Lee had been governor just nine months, having taken office November 12, 1779, at the age of thirty-four. Maryland's second elected governor, he had succeeded Thomas Johnson who had served three one-year terms. Lee, a Prince George's County landowner, had been thrust into the Revolutionary turmoil of Annapolis in 1775 when he represented the county at the Provincial Convention. Following ratification of the state constitution of 1776, he gained election to the five-member Executive (or Governor's) Council, which, with the governor as presiding officer, functioned as the executive branch of the new state government.

Three years later, on the threshold of the darkest days of the Revolution, he won the governorship.⁷

Early in the war, Maryland had been a main source of provisions for the army. Grain and flour, vegetables, livestock, and salted meats and fish to feed the soldiers, fodder to feed their horses and draft animals, along with iron and lumber products, shoes and clothing had flowed from its bounteous fields, forests, and workshops. With its busy shipyards and ports, particularly Baltimore, the state had become the transportation hub for moving troops, equipment, and supplies up and down the Chesapeake. By 1780, however, Maryland had lost the capacity to fulfill increasing war obligations. One month after Lee took the oath of office, General Washington warned the states that the American Army was on the verge of disintegration. Entire regiments barely survived on reduced rations. "Our magazines are absolutely empty everywhere, and our commissaries entirely destitute of money or credit to replenish them." Congress increased Maryland's quotas by enormous monthly demands: 2,500 barrels of flour; 143,000 pounds of beef; 30,000 pounds of bacon; and 11,000 bushels of forage grain. The new requisitions added to the already burdensome annual quotas set for 1780 of 20,000 barrels of flour, 56,000 bushels of corn, huge quantities of salted beef and pork, 200 tons of hay, along with great quantities of other provisions.⁸

As officials struggled to meet the obligations, Maryland descended into a financial crisis. Rampant inflation spiraled prices higher and higher. In March 1780, Congress, attempting to slash the national debt, issued new paper money to revalue the Continental currency. They retired the old currency at an exchange rate of forty dollars of the old for one dollar of the new and then passed the burden of exchanging the bills to the thirteen states, ordering them to deposit the value of exchanged money in the national treasury. As inflation rose, Maryland's initial quota of \$14.2 million, to be paid in nine monthly installments was increased to \$23.7 million.⁹

Leaders, overwhelmed, could not satisfy the twin obligations of purchasing provisions for the Army and gathering cash to deposit in the national treasury. There was not enough money, and what was available lost value daily. The General Assembly authorized several revenue measures, which failed, including borrowing schemes that added to the state's already high debt level. In July, Governor Lee forwarded a deposit of only \$200,000 to Philadelphia, explaining, "When that requisition was received, our Treasury was quite exhausted." Inflation continued to spiral out of control. One year after Congress issued the new currency, James Brooks, Clerk of the Executive Committee, recorded the number of Continental dollars needed to equal one dollar of hard currency (silver or gold) on April 9, 1781, at 135 for one in Annapolis, and 150 for one in Philadelphia. By the end of May, the value had reached a calamitous 900 for one. For Maryland, the point of financial collapse fast approached. Merchants and farmers refused to

accept paper currency, and leaders admitted that without additional infusions of hard cash, assessments on the state could not be met.¹⁰

Meanwhile, enemy attacks on the Chesapeake Bay intensified, choking off commerce and undermining efforts to restore Maryland's solvency. Having failed in his appeal to Congress and desperate to break open the sea lanes, Governor Lee decided to turn for help to Baltimore, the port that had suffered the greatest losses. Lee's decision set in motion a series of events that provide a unique tableau illustrating the extent and violence of the British invasion of the upper Chesapeake Bay and also reveals the actions of government and community leaders, with few resources and under constant threat of attack, struggling against a ruthless and superior enemy.

Baltimore

The businessmen of Baltimore had worked as partners with the state early in the war, helping to finance, build, and arm vessels to patrol and defend Maryland waters, but runaway inflation had ended the relationship. Armed patrols had almost ceased, and by mid-1780 the once bold ship owners faced staggering losses from a dramatic decline in ship traffic. Most owners became reluctant to gamble their vessels on voyages down the bay, leaving them tied to wharfs and moorings for safety, or risking only short voyages to nearby ports, such as Head of Elk (Elkton) at the north end of the Chesapeake. During 1780, prior to October when the British expanded their operations in the bay, a total of 236 vessels sailed from Baltimore, more than 50 percent bound for nearby ports. The following year, when the enemy stranglehold on the Chesapeake reached its maximum over a nine month period, departures plummeted to just thirty-nine.¹¹

In early November 1780 several enemy privateer vessels thrust boldly up the Patuxent to capture cargo ships that had congregated in the river for safety. Receiving word of the raids, Governor Lee sent an urgent dispatch to Baltimore on November 8, asking ship owners to mount an operation against the privateers to "prevent their getting off with their Booty." To entice the owners to risk their vessels, Lee offered the prospect of lucrative prizes. "The value of the vessels and the great plunder they are probably encumbered with make them an inviting object of profit while their force is not so considerable as to discourage an attempt." One owner accepted the challenge, Colonel Samuel Smith. He had already decided to send his brig, the *Cato*, through the gauntlet of dangers in the bay. Smith's business, like the state treasury, needed the revenue, and he was searching for funds to send a cargo to Europe. A few days after Smith agreed to Lee's request, the owners of the schooner *Nautilus* joined him.¹²

The twenty-nine-year-old Smith had faced dangerous challenges in the past. With a company of Maryland troops at the Battle of Long Island in 1776, then Captain Smith stood in the way of encircling British forces until Washington's

Major General Samuel Smith, hero of the Battle of Long Island, returned to Baltimore to rebuild his family's shipping business. (Maryland Historical Society.)



army left the area. A year later, promoted to lieutenant-colonel, he had commanded the bloody defense of Fort Mifflin one of the island bastions in the Delaware River during the British siege of Philadelphia. After four years of war, severely wounded and in financial straits, Smith had returned to Baltimore in late 1778 to rebuild the family shipping business. By September 1780, he served as commander of the Baltimore militia.¹³

Smith's brig *Cato* had a crew of forty seamen and with fourteen carriage guns, sufficient armament to handle enemy privateers. The schooner *Nautilus* carried a crew of twenty and mounted eight carriage guns. The Executive Council temporarily drafted the vessels and their captains into the state navy and awarded Captain James Tibbett the rank of commodore with overall command of the mission. As preparations began at Baltimore, Governor Lee ordered Maryland's two patrol vessels, *Dolphin* and *Plater*, to stand ready to accompany the ships. The two topsail schooners, with William Middleton and his brother Gilbert in command, were Maryland's eyes, scouting the Chesapeake and tributary rivers for enemy activity. Crews of six seamen operated the newly outfitted schooners that now carried railing-mounted swivel guns, antipersonnel weapons that fired a charge similar to grape shot.¹⁴

Rainy weather and other “unforeseen accidents” delayed the start of the mission until November 18, when the *Cato* and *Nautilus* slipped from their moorings at Fells Point and sailed across the harbor to the fort at Whetstone Point (now the site of Fort McHenry). From its storehouse they loaded eighty muskets and 2,600 powder-filled paper cartridges, ten casks of gun-powder, and hundreds of cartridges, grape shot, and solid shot for their four and three-pounder cannon. Then the brig and schooner sailed to Annapolis, joining the *Dolphin* and *Plater* anchored in the harbor.¹⁵

The next morning, Governor Lee issued orders to Commodore Tibbet. "The fleet under your command . . . are to cruise down the bay, to protect the trade of the state and defend the inhabitants thereof, most exposed to the depredations of the enemy." The commodore may have planned to use stealth to maneuver his fleet in amongst the privateers before launching his attack. Lee ordered the armory to "deliver to Commodore Tibbet two hundred three-pound shot and two British flags."¹⁶

The sails of the four vessels spread taut in the autumn breeze as the fleet left Annapolis harbor on November 20, almost two weeks after Lee first proposed the expedition. Heading south, the fleet searched the bay and Patuxent River for five days, but the enemy privateers had vanished. On Friday, November 25, Tibbet, unwilling to give up the hunt, decided to probe deeper down the bay. After passing the mouth of the Potomac River, about seventy-five nautical miles from Annapolis, lookouts aloft reported sails in the distance, a lone vessel moving in the same direction as the fleet. Following the vessel for some time, they noticed it seemed to be keeping the fleet under surveillance, or luring them on by giving the impression the bay was safe. Some time later the Marylanders noticed a second vessel, a merchant brig moving up the bay under a full load of canvas. As the brig drew near the Maryland fleet, its commander, Captain Keel, slowed, steered alongside the *Cato* and hailed Commodore Tibbet. Across the water, Keel warned that he had barely escaped an enemy fleet that had chased him "as high as lower Tangiers [Sound] last night."¹⁷

The chance encounter saved the Marylanders from a deadly trap. Their quarry had been replaced by a squadron of at least seven warships waiting to turn the four Maryland vessels into prizes of war. Keel described a square-rigged ship, three brigs, two schooners, and the suspicious vessel the Marylanders had spotted "that seems to be dodgen us." Keel confirmed it "to be one of the same fleet."

Commodore Tibbett signaled the captains of the Maryland vessels to join him on the *Cato* to decide their next move. Events had turned against them. The enemy force outnumbered and outgunned them and now the weather threatened their safety, "very unsettled and likely for blowing," Tibbet wrote in a report to Governor Lee. Disappointed, the captains voted to turn around and head for home.¹⁸

The Enemy Now Before Our Doors

Dramatic events had taken place in the lower Chesapeake. In October, an invasion force of 2,500 British troops under the command of General Alexander Leslie had landed at Portsmouth, Virginia, to establish a permanent base. Six large warships, including a frigate, supported the invasion, and Leslie had ordered several to hunt down American shipping in the upper bay. The Maryland fleet had narrowly escaped Leslie's warships and news of the invasion sent shockwaves up the Chesapeake. When Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson warned that Baltimore was a target of the warships, Governor Lee ordered hundreds of volunteer militia troops to protect Annapolis and Baltimore.¹⁹

Samuel Smith, meanwhile, had received reports that Leslie's army was preparing to depart Virginia. Believing the bay less dangerous, Smith resumed his preparations for an outbound voyage. Seeking to fill the *Cato's* hold, he proposed a joint commercial venture and offered to load the hold with a cargo of flour for delivery to Havana. The state would underwrite purchasing the flour, and the profits would be divided between Smith (and his partner) and the state treasury. At Havana, the *Cato* would load sugar for a voyage to Cadiz, Spain, and on the return voyage would carry weapons, ammunition, and clothing, items desperately needed by Maryland's soldiers serving with General Nathaniel Greene's forces in the South. Smith, no longer concerned about British warships and anxious to get the brig into the open sea before ice and winter storms made the bay dangerous to navigation, urged the governor to reply to his offer so that "in eight days after the enemy leaves the Bay, your flour may be on its voyage."²⁰

Smith's information proved accurate. General Leslie had been ordered to re-embark his troops onto transports and move to Charleston, South Carolina, to reinforce Lord Charles Cornwallis's army. But the door of safer passage in the Chesapeake would slam shut five weeks later when another, more deadly invasion force arrived.

On November 30, the council, desperate for both cash and military supplies, accepted Smith's offer. Sale of the cargos would finance the purchase of military equipment, and Smith's terms for the return voyage were generous; the state would be allotted one half of the *Cato's* hold free of charge. The council, seeking to squeeze additional revenue from the venture offered a privateer commission, "Letters of Marque and Reprisal," authorizing the *Cato* to hunt for enemy merchant ships. But the council insisted that Maryland "shall be entitled to one third of all prize money which may be received by the owners of the brig."²¹

Before Smith could load the *Cato* and get it underway, however, his enterprise became more complicated, expanding into another expedition. Two more vessels joined the venture, the schooner *Nautilus* (that had sailed with *Cato* in the hunt for privateers), and the brig *Fox*. Expectations soared with the addition of these ships. The *Nautilus* offered speed and agility before the wind and the *Fox*, with its crew of twenty-two and its armament of ten carriage guns and four swivels, added substantial force. Once in the Atlantic, the trio would have the speed and fire-power to intercept and capture almost any enemy merchantmen traveling without warship escort.²²

Numerous delays had plagued the venture for a full month and on Friday, December 29, Colonel Smith sent a message to Governor Lee. "The *Cato* will be loaded tomorrow. She will have between 950 and 1000 barrels on board." Smith urged Lee to "have all orders ready." The delays left him with a chilling sense of foreboding, "a day at this season is very precious."²³

Yet another two weeks went by before the two brigs and schooner finally unfurled their sails and left Baltimore, on January 12, anchoring in Annapolis



British general Henry Clinton (1730–1795), commander in chief, awarded Benedict Arnold a brigadier general's commission and then dispatched him to invade the Chesapeake. (Maryland Historical Society.)

harbor later that day. Governor Lee gave the *Cato's* commander, Benjamin Weeks, three letters to deliver in Havana. Two, addressed to Maryland's business agents Robert Dorsey and Richard Harrison, gave instructions for selling the flour and loading the vessels with sugar for the voyage to Spain. The third letter was addressed to the Spanish governor requesting assistance in buying the sugar. The governor's help, Lee wrote, "would contribute to the essential defense and supplies of the common cause."²⁴

Two days later, remembering the near encounter with warships in November, Lee sent the *Dolphin* and *Plater* to reconnoiter the Chesapeake. "If you discover the vessels of the enemy . . . or intelligence of their movements up the Bay in force," he ordered Captain Middleton, "you are to return . . . with the utmost expedition" and report to "the captains of the vessels now about to sail." Two weeks earlier, the British had returned, and indeed Middleton discovered them moving up the bay in force, but he could not report the discovery—the two schooners sailed into an ambush and suffered severe damage. Although the captains saw the failure to return as a bad omen, they decided to sail after several days, anxious to get the convoy into the Atlantic before the onset of winter. Tragedy soon struck them as well.²⁵

On December 30, as Colonel Smith loaded flour into his brig for the voyage, a second enemy force invaded Virginia, seventeen hundred seasoned troops under the command of the American traitor, Benedict Arnold. After American forces discovered his treasonous activity at West Point, Arnold fled to New York City, where General Henry Clinton, the British commander in chief, awarded him a

Brigadier General's commission, then sent Arnold to invade his forsaken country. The new invasion signaled a change in British strategy. War planners in London had ordered Clinton to establish total control of the Chesapeake Bay. Arnold arrived with a fleet of thirty-two ships, including eleven warships, and lost no time attacking. Racing his army up the James River, he occupied Virginia's capital, Richmond, on January 5. Caught off guard by the invasion, Governor Jefferson and the legislature escaped capture by only a few hours. Arnold, meeting little resistance from Virginia forces, wreaked havoc on the infrastructure along the James, burning warehouses and farms, and destroying arms and food depots and shipyard facilities. Meanwhile, like Leslie before him, Arnold sent warships far up the Chesapeake Bay in search of American ships.²⁶

The Maryland convoy had travelled only about forty miles from Annapolis when five of Arnold's warships intercepted them on Monday, January 22, below the Patuxent River near Cedar Point. Leading the attack was the thirty-two-gun frigate *Iris*. Ironically, the ship, formerly the Continental frigate, the *Hancock*, had been one of the original thirteen built for the American Navy. In 1777, one month before its surrender, the *Hancock* had taken the twenty-eight-gun frigate *Fox*, the first American capture of a major Royal Navy warship on the high seas. In the three years since, the British had turned the guns of the *Hancock* on American ships.²⁷

The *Iris* sailed with another large square-rigged ship and three smaller vessels, a brig, sloop of war, and schooner. The warships ran their guns out and maneuvered toward the Maryland convoy, which now numbered four vessels. The brig *Hawke*, carrying thirty crewmen and ten carriage guns, had joined the venture. On board the *Cato*, Captain Weeks realized he had sailed into a trap. As he watched the enemy ships bear down on his convoy, Weeks had to make a quick decision. He could fight it out with the warships or he could try to evade them. Or, he could strike his colors and surrender. Weeks rejected the latter option—but he knew his convoy would not survive a battle with a thirty-two-gun frigate supported by other fast and well-armed warships. The *Iris* alone had more than twice the number of guns as the *Cato*, but if he could outmaneuver the oncoming warships, he might have a chance to dash by them and make the open sea.

Before the *Iris* was close enough to fire a broadside, Weeks made up his mind. He changed course, steering the *Cato* west, into shallower water, hoping the deeper-draft warships would not follow. Two other captains followed the ship's sudden move, turning the *Nautilus* and *Hawke* toward the coast. All three vessels struck the sandy bottom. The *Nautilus*, drawing less water, came to rest closest to the shore and consequently avoided the punishment the two brigs would suffer. Only the *Fox*, which turned around and headed back to Annapolis, escaped the British attack.

Hauling in their sails, the enemy warships drew near the foundered Maryland ships, sending boarding parties in longboats rowing to the *Cato* and *Hawke*.



Detail, Georges-Louis Le Rouge, *Virginie, Maryland, en 2 Feuilles* par Fry et Jefferson, 1777. British warships intercepted the Maryland convoy just south of the Patuxent River near Cedar Point. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Meanwhile, the twenty crewmembers of the *Nautilus* had not abandoned their ship but worked busily with block and tackle loading one-by-one the schooner's carriage guns, along with powder and cannon balls, onto its longboat and ferrying them to the sandy beach, where they arranged them in a battery. The defensive activity probably discouraged the British commander from sending a boarding party to the *Nautilus*.²⁸

On board the *Cato*, the raiders broke into the hold and other compartments.

In the brig's magazine they found the small arms, gunpowder, and ammunition loaded in November for the expedition against the privateers. Careless in their searching, the boarders ignited the gunpowder, setting off a huge explosion that tore off the brig's stern quarter. The widely-reported accounts of the blast set death toll at between ten and fifteen British boarders and six to eight of the *Cato's* crew.²⁹

The commander of the *Iris* recovered his dead and ordered the two Maryland vessels set ablaze. Withdrawing his squadron, he left the well-guarded *Nautilus* marooned upon the shoal but intact amidst a scene of utter destruction—the *Hawke* completely engulfed in flames and the *Cato* belching smoke and flames from the explosion, its decks awash and a gaping hole torn in its stern. The British squadron had inflicted a costly blow to Baltimore's commerce and had crushed the hopes of Maryland officials for a venture that would partly relieve the state's financial paralysis.

News of the disaster traveled quickly up the bay to Baltimore. Samuel Smith sailed to the scene and began a heroic salvage operation. "*Cato* and *Nautilus* are both on Shore between Cedar Point & St. Jeromes Creek near the House of Mr. Bellwood," Smith reported to Governor Lee five days after the tragedy. "*The Nautilus* is high up and will be saved near 200 barrels of her flour is saved already." Smith had salvaged another two hundred barrels from the wreck of the *Hawke*, which had burned to the waterline, but rescuing the *Cato* and its flour proved more complicated. The explosion had displaced the cargo "as far forward as the pumps," and with the stern blown away "the water ebbs and flows in her."³⁰

Smith soon discovered that the frigid January waters of the bay ranked low on his list of problems. Gangs of local loyalists in row-barges had attempted to steal the cargo and destroy what was left of the vessels, but the crew of the *Nautilus* had set up a battery of cannon on shore and driven them off, "We have our guns planted properly for defense and nothing dare come near the wrecks." Smith urged Lee to send the *Dolphin* and *Plater* to protect the salvage operation. "For heavens sake, dispatch the vessels. If they come, more than one half of the flour may be saved, for although the water ebbs and flows into both vessels, we find the water does not penetrate more than an inch into the flour."³¹

When three days passed and the schooners did not arrive, Smith again pleaded for them. He had almost re-floated the *Nautilus*, "She was unloaded and this day they have begun to pump and bail and I think will soon clear her." He lamented, however, that "much of her cargo is embezzled." Crewmen from the wrecked vessels had sold casks of flour to local residents. Regardless, Smith continued his frantic efforts:

With about 20 people I saved in one day 600 barrels and have now 700 barrels landed and hope yet to secure 100 more. If your vessels do not come tomorrow I shall haul it from the beach and store it in the yard of Mr.

Bellwood where it must stay without cover until carriages can be had from here instead.

Loyalists had persistently tried to disrupt Smith's work. "I cannot paint to your Excellency the avarice and rapacity of this people . . . and sir if you do not send craft soon I am confident they will rob from Bellwood's yard."³² Unfortunately, the *Dolphin* and *Plater*, similarly ambushed days earlier, had "sustained considerable damage," Lee replied to Smith. The schooners had been towed to Baltimore "for immediate repair." Lee, meanwhile, urged private owners to risk their craft to help Smith, "every vessel we could lay our hands on are engaged to go down instantly to your assistance . . . in securing the vessels and cargoes."³³

Colonel Smith saved the *Nautilus*. He also managed, after removing the cargo, to refloat the *Cato* and tow it to Baltimore. The deadly venture, launched with such high expectations of profit for Smith and the other vessel owners, and relief for the state treasury, ended where it had begun, at a wharf on Fells Point. A terse newspaper advertisement, like an epitaph, informed readers that the remains, "hull, rigging, sails, guns, cables, anchors, etc., of the Brig *Cato*, lately driven on shore by the enemy," were for sale, "for specie or for the actual exchange which specie may be bought for."³⁴

After destroying the convoy, the British warships sailed only a few miles away and entered the Potomac River, where they landed raiding parties along the coast to spread additional destruction and terror. Robert Armstrong, a plantation owner whose Point Lookout property held a commanding view of the bay and the Potomac, reported the attacks. Ironically, the Executive Council had recruited him a few days before to organize a "chain of expresses" to warn officials in Annapolis of "any movement of the enemy up the Bay or their intention to operate against this state."³⁵

Armstrong's first dispatch, written January 26, provided a detailed account of the attack on the convoy and the raids along the Potomac. "The enemy now being before our doors," Armstrong wrote to Governor Lee. The British ships "are now at anchor off St. Georges Island." The commander landed "about forty men at Point lookout," where they pillaged several properties, including Armstrong's. Before leaving, the commander fired "several balls from the schooner through the houses." County militia forces had mustered in time to interrupt a subsequent landing, but volunteers could not stop a major attack. "If the enemy should land any considerable body of men in order to plunder, this part of the county will almost lie open to their mercy."³⁶

Four days later, Armstrong sent a second dispatch. "A ten gun schooner of the enemy's came up Smith's Creek." The schooner "landed about fifty men under cover of their cannon." They boarded the schooner *Kitty*, an Annapolis vessel, "bound to St. Eustatius loaded with tobacco." The *Kitty* was "fast aground and

partly unrigged," and the raiders spent hours trying to move it. Finally, at "about ten o'clock the same night they burned her." Armstrong also warned Lee of a massive amphibious raid just days away. Three American captives released from the warships had reported that "there is a fleet of sixty sail (including transports and privateers) down the Bay and that they intend to Baltimore and Annapolis a plundering voyage."³⁷

The Chesapeake Liberated

The attack never materialized, but British forces stepped up their terror, boldly raiding the length of the undefended Chesapeake as high as the Elk and Susquehanna Rivers. In March, the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* reported the Chesapeake "infested by upwards of 20 sail of British Men of war and Privateers." Landing parties "have committed great Excesses on both shores." On the Potomac River, warships plundered and burned as high as Georgetown and Alexandria. One group, led by the sloop of war *Savage*, anchored off Mount Vernon in April and threatened to bombard the plantation. Lund Washington, acting as caretaker, mollified the British captain with a supply of food, earning a rebuke from the commander in chief. "That which gives me most concern, is, that you should go on board the enemy's vessels, and furnish them with refreshments," Washington scolded. "It would have been a less painful circumstance to me, to have heard, that in consequence of your non-compliance with their request, they had burnt my house and laid the plantation in ruins."³⁸

During March and April, while other warships conducted raids in the upper Chesapeake, two square-rigged sloops of war, *Hope* and *Monk*, each mounting eighteen guns blockaded Annapolis harbor. Benedict Arnold had dispatched the warships to intercept the Marquis de Lafayette's expedition, then in Annapolis. Washington had ordered the French leader, with his twelve hundred elite Light Infantry troops, to stop Arnold's invasion and to apprehend the traitor, and he carried explicit orders to deliver the summary punishment reserved for deserters. But the expedition was cancelled when British warships at the mouth of the Chesapeake turned back a French squadron en route to support Lafayette, leaving the marquis stranded at Annapolis, his troops packed aboard more than ninety Maryland vessels, with the *Hope* and *Monk* outside the harbor waiting to pounce. As the standoff dragged on, the warships attacked merchant vessels recklessly attempting to reach Baltimore and Annapolis. As the standoff dragged on the warships attacked nearby shipping and conducted devastating land raids, including a one-hundred-man nighttime attack on Stephen Seward's extensive shipyard on West River, just a few miles south of Annapolis. The flames and smoke streaking into the night sky from burning vessels, stocks, and buildings were visible from the capital city. Six days later, Lafayette, mounting field pieces in the bows of sloops, and Light Infantry troops in other vessels, launched a surprise attack against the war-

ships, chasing them down the bay long enough for his convoy to sail back to Head of Elk. The warships resumed their threatening station within a few days, however, extending it to Baltimore.³⁹

The British death grip on the Chesapeake would last another six long months before it suddenly loosened. When Lord Charles Cornwallis replaced Benedict Arnold in Virginia, raising British troop strength to more than seven thousand, he moved his army to the port of Yorktown, giving Washington the opportunity to launch the attack that won American independence.⁴⁰

Messages reached Annapolis in late August describing Washington's secret plans "to send a very considerable force against the enemy's troops . . . in Virginia." The messages urged Governor Lee to marshal the long-outstanding balance of "supplies due from the state of Maryland to the United States . . . absolutely necessary to the intended operation." A letter from Washington requested ships to be gathered at Head of Elk to transport his army to Virginia. Lee immediately recognized that Washington's campaign would give Maryland the protection for which he had begged Congress in 1780 and he therefore replied:

You may rely, Sir, on every Exertion that is possible for us to make to accelerate the Movements of the Army on an Expedition, the Success of which must hasten the Establishment of the Independence of America and relieve us from many of the Calamities of war.⁴¹

The next day, French Admiral DeGrasse sailed into the Chesapeake Bay with twenty-eight massive battleships of the line, severing Cornwallis's lines of communication and isolating him at Yorktown. From that moment, the pace of events accelerated. Six days later, Washington, marching with unexpected swiftness, reached Maryland at the head of a combined army of six thousand American and French troops. The commander-in-chief discovered that Governor Lee had already galvanized the state into action, turning it into a bustling center of logistics and transportation.⁴²

"A Spirit of Exertion prevails universally," Washington wrote to Lee, relieved at "the happy prospect of receiving very effectual Supports from you." Although beset by a multitude of difficulties, Lee had arranged for stockpiles of supplies to be amassed for the army's use. His orders rallied state leaders. "There never has been a time which required the Exertions of the State more than the present," Lee wrote to commissary officials. "The Fate of Lord Cornwallis and his Army will in a great Measure, depend upon them." Using a combination of patriotic appeal and harsh authority, Lee told officials to accept no resistance as they gathered provisions and organized transportation. They were ordered to seize what was needed and to use "Light Horse Militia to aid you in the Execution of this Order."⁴³

Lee assured Washington that "orders have [been] issued to impress every Ves-

sel belonging to the State, and forwarding them, without Delay to the Head of Elk." He confessed, however, that Maryland's resources were depleted. "Since the Enemy has had Possession of the Bay, our Number of sea Vessels and Craft has been so reduced by Captures, that we are apprehensive what remains will not transport so considerable a Detachment."⁴⁴

The savage British campaign against Maryland's shipping, however, had created an unexpected logistic capacity, a windfall of resources available first to Lafayette in March and April, and now to Washington. For safety, ship owners had collected many vessels in Baltimore and other harbors and hidden others high up rivers along the Chesapeake, out of reach of British cruisers and privateers. The businessmen answered the governor's sudden call, drawing their ships from concealment and forming a long convoy to carry Washington's vanguard of 2,000 troops and their artillery to the battle area. The vessels continued to support the operation by forming a seaborne chain of support, hauling from Maryland's stockpiles food and equipment to siege forces that eventually swelled to nearly nineteen thousand allied troops. Once the fighting began, the campaign was brief. Under relentless bombardment for eight days and nights, Cornwallis surrendered, marching his forces out of Yorktown and into captivity on October 19.⁴⁵

One month later, on his way to Philadelphia, a victorious General Washington stopped at Annapolis where he found that victory had transformed its people. Gone was the apprehension of imminent catastrophe that had permeated the capital since the summer of 1780 when Thomas Sim Lee had issued his plaintive appeal to save Maryland's shipping. Serious challenges remained for Maryland, but the great victory had ended British domination of the Chesapeake. Replacing the foreboding of the past was a new confidence, a certainty of victory. As Washington's party drew near, the people crowded the streets to see him. "All business ceased, and every consideration gave way to their impatience to behold their benefactor, and the deliverer of his country," reported the *Maryland Gazette*. "On his appearance in the streets, people of every rank and every age eagerly pressed forward to feed their eyes with gazing on the man, to whom, under Providence, and the generous aid of our great and good ally [France], they owed their present security, and their hopes of future liberty and peace." Washington's visit became an official, although premature, celebration of final victory. For two days, the festivities built into a great display of adulation, one of the first of the emotional outpourings Washington would receive for the rest of his life:

The general's arrival was announced by the discharge of cannon, and he was accompanied to his Excellency the governor's. . . . The president of the senate, speaker of the house of delegates, members of the general assembly and council, and many respectable citizens, hastened to offer their tribute of affection. . . . The evening was spent at the governor's elegant and hospitable

board with festive joy." Celebrations continued into the night and "the city was beautifully illuminated," as torches were placed along the streets and candles glowed for hours in the windows of shops, taverns, and homes.

The next day, crowds gathered outside the recently-constructed red-brick state house to see the general assembly's extraordinary session, at which they presented a resolution expressing Maryland's gratitude. "Accept Sir, the sincerest Thanks of the Legislature on behalf of this State for your eminent Services," the resolution read. "With warm and grateful Hearts they entertain the highest sense of the great Obligations you have laid upon them." The Yorktown victory, the legislators foresaw, held significance far beyond the immediate result of clearing the Chesapeake of British raiders. The resolution extolled Washington's "perseverance and anxious unremitted vigilance . . . to save your Country," and it proclaimed that as a result of the glorious victory at Yorktown, "the Freedom, Independence, and Happiness of America will shortly be established upon the surest Foundation."

Washington spoke briefly to the crowd, thanking them for "the Honor which has this day been conferred upon me." He acknowledged the beleaguered state's efforts during the campaign and throughout the war. Maryland stood, Washington said, "among the foremost in her support of the common cause." In September, Washington had appeared suddenly at Head of Elk asking for extensive material assistance. Ironically, within a few days, despite crippling losses inflicted by enemy raiders, Maryland became the reservoir of logistics and transportation for the campaign that crushed Britain's hope for victory. "I confess myself under particular obligations for the ready attention . . . to those requisitions," Washington told the crowd. Two years later, the new nation's independence won, he would return to Annapolis, the scene of those first celebrations, to that same State House. For a brief time Annapolis would be the capital of the United States, and it would be here, in the Senate Chamber before the assembled Congress, that the commander in chief would resign his commission.⁴⁶

Yorktown had not ended the Revolutionary War. Sporadic fighting would continue until the Treaty of Paris in September 1783. But the victory had removed the formidable enemy from Maryland's shores and reopened the Chesapeake Bay to commerce. Marylanders lost no time in seizing the opportunity, making rapid progress in recovering from the effects of the war. In the following year, 1782, the irrepressible merchants of Baltimore would send out over 216 cargo vessels, and in 1783, the year of the peace treaty, the number would more than double to 495. Baltimore had burgeoned during the Revolution to become Maryland's largest city and the upper Chesapeake's hub of commerce and transportation. The explosive growth was merely a foundation for what was to come. Within a decade Baltimore would be the fastest growing city in America.⁴⁷

Notes

1. Robert Purviance, *A Narrative of Events Which Occurred in Baltimore Town During the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore: Joseph Robinson, 1849), 92, 224–26; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland From the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, 3 vols. (1879; repr., Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967), 2: 384.
2. Unless applied to a specific craft, the term ship is occasionally used in this essay interchangeably with vessel as a generic term describing ocean-going and bay craft. John Taylor to Governor Lee, July 1, 1780, William Hand Browne, et al., editors, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1972), 45: 2 (hereinafter cited *Arch. Md.*); Geoffrey M. Footner, *Tidewater Triumph: The Development and Worldwide Success of the Chesapeake Bay Pilot Schooner*, (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1998), 45–46.
3. For a discussion of early British attacks in the Chesapeake, including a raid on Baltimore that, combined with subsequent events, led to Maryland's decision to support the Declaration of Independence, see Robert W. Tinder, "Shattered Isolation: The Raid of the *Otter* and Maryland's Chaotic Turn to Independence, March–July, 1776," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 99 (2004): 429 (hereinafter cited *MdHM*).
4. Henry Hooper, Dorchester County, to Governor Lee, July 26, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45: 31–32.
5. Executive Council of Maryland to Delegates in Congress, July 28, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 43: 238.
6. John Hanson to Thomas Sim Lee August 1, 1780, Paul H. Smith, et. al., eds., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, 25 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967–2000), 15: 529; Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of the American Sailing Navy: The Ships and their Development* (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1949), 52–74; William M. Fowler, Jr., *Rebels Under Sail: The American Navy During the Revolution* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 216; Robert Gardiner, ed., *Navies and the American Revolution, 1775–1783* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996), 64–65; Samuel Huntington to Thomas Sim Lee, August 10, 1780, Paul H. Smith, et. al., eds., *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789*, 15: 568; *Arch. Md.*, 45: 45.
7. Little has been written on the life of Thomas Sim Lee. For a brief biography, see Frank F. White, Jr., *The Governors of Maryland, 1777–1970*, Publication No. 15 (Annapolis: The Hall of Records Commission, State of Maryland, 1970), 11–14. See also Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press and Hall of Records Commission of the State of Maryland, 1985), 2: 529–30. Description of Maryland's early Revolutionary government is found in John Archer Silver, "The Provisional Government of Maryland (1774–1777)," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Sciences*, Series 13 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1895). Description of the first state government is found in Beverly W. Bond Jr., "State Government in Maryland, 1777–1781," *Ibid.*, Series 23 (1905).
8. Harold T. Pinkett, "Maryland as a Source of Food Supplies During the American Revolution," *MdHM*, 46 (1951), 157–60; George Washington to Governor Lee, December 16, 1779, *Arch. Md.*, 43: 386–87; S. Sydney Bradford, "Hunger Menaces the Revolution, December 1779–January 1780," *MdHM*, 61 (1966), 3–7; Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland, A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 125; Bond, "State Government in Maryland," 48.
9. Don Higgenbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763–1789* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971), 293; James McSherry, *History of Maryland*, 214–17; Bond, *State Government in Maryland*, 58–68.

10. Executive Council to Delegates in Congress, July 8, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 43:215; Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1805* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 102–106; Samuel B. Griffith, II, *The War for American Independence* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 644; Bond, *State Government in Maryland*, 60–63.
11. Compilation of vessel clearance records in the Maryland Hall of Records and the National Archives, quoted in Rhoda M. Dorsey, “The Pattern of Baltimore Commerce During the Confederation Period,” *MdHM*, 62 (1967), 121–25; and Ernest McNeill Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution* (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1981), Table 4, 299.
12. Executive Council to William Smith, Samuel and Robert Purveyance and others, Merchants in Baltimore, November 8, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 43:354; W. Smith to His Excellency Thomas S. Lee, November 14, 1780, *Ibid.*, 45: 180–81.
13. After the war, Smith would be elected to both the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate. In 1814, as a major general, again facing a powerful British invasion, Smith would organize the repulse of land forces attacking Baltimore. Frank A. Cassell, *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic; Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 12–36; John S. Pancake, *Samuel Smith and the Politics of Business: 1752–1839* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1972), 13–27; Henry C. Peden Jr., *Revolutionary Patriots of Baltimore Town and Baltimore County, Maryland, 1775–1783* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1997), 251.
14. Executive Council to Captain William Middleton, November 10, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 43:357; Executive Council Orders, November 11, 1780, *Ibid.*, 43:357–58; Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay*, 233–34; Geoffrey M. Footner, *Tidewater Triumph*, 48; Scharf, “Baltimore Privateers from 1777 to 1783,” *History of Baltimore*, 100–103.
15. Wm. Smith, Baltimore, to His Excellency Thomas S. Lee, November 14, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45:180–81; Col. Saml. Smith, Baltimore to Governor Lee, November 18, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45: 187; Scott S. Sheads, *Fort McHenry* (Baltimore: Nautical and Aviation Publishing Company of America, 1995), 1–4.
16. Executive Council to Commodore James Tibbet, November 19, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45:217–18; Executive Council Orders, November 20, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45: 218.
17. Report of Board of Enquiry Held On Board the Brig *Cato*, Friday, November 25, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45:193–94.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay*, 453–56; Executive Council to Andrew Buchanan, Lieutenant of Baltimore County, November 6, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 43: 351; Council to Andrew Buchanan, November 9, 1780, *Ibid.*, 43: 355–56; Executive Council Orders, November 9, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 43: 355.
20. Samuel Smith, Baltimore to Governor Lee, November 14, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45:181; Samuel Smith to Governor Lee, December 5, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45:199–200.
21. Executive Council to Colonel Samuel Smith November 30, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45:230; Commission of Letters of Marque and Reprisal issued to Benjamin Weeks, Commander of Brig *Cato*, December 30, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45: 257.
22. Scharf, “Privateers,” 100–103.
23. Samuel Smith, Baltimore, to Governor Lee, December 29, 1780, *Arch. Md.*, 45:211.
24. Executive Council Orders, January 14, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 45: 274; Executive Council to the Governor of the Havana, and to Richard Harrison and Robert Dorsey, Esq. Havana, January 4–5, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 45:262–64.
25. Executive Council Orders, January 14, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 45:274.
26. John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia, 1775–1783* (Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), 221–25; Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay*, 457–63; British strategy for

Arnold's invasion was revealed in captured dispatches: Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, February 7, 1781, and March 7, 1781. See Thomas McKean to George Washington, July 17, 1781, in Smith, ed., *Letters of Delegates*, 17:412–16. See also Richard Potts to Thomas Sim Lee, July 17, 1781, *Ibid.*, 17: 416–17; Daniel Carroll to Thomas Sim Lee, July 17, 1781, *Ibid.*, 17: 410; and *Pennsylvania Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, July 25, 1781.

27. Robert Gardner, ed., *Navies and the American Revolution, 1775–1783*, 20, 65, 157; William M. Fowler, Jr., *Rebels Under Sail*, 216.

28. Samuel Smith, Cedar Point, to Governor Lee, January 25, 1781, *Arch. Md.* 47:37–38.

29. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, January 30, 1781; Robert Armstrong, St. Mary's County, to Governor Lee, January 26, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 47:37–39.

30. Samuel Smith, Cedar Point, to Governor Lee, January 25, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 47:37–38.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Samuel Smith to Governor Lee, January 28, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 47:40.

33. Executive Council to Samuel Smith, January 27, 1781, *Arch. Md.* 45:290.

34. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 20, 1781.

35. Executive Council to Robert Armstrong, January 18, 1781, *Arch. Md.* 45:278.

36. Robert Armstrong to Governor Lee, January 26, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 47:38.

37. Robert Armstrong to Governor Lee January 30, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 47:41.

38. *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, March 13, 1781; Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington. A Biography*, 7 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), 5: 282–83; James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington in the American Revolution, 1775–1783* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968), 420–21; George Washington to Lund Washington, April 30, 1781, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799*, 39 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931–1944), 22:14–15.

39. Louis Gottschalk, *Lafayette and the Close of the American Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 206–207; John Austin Stevens, *The Expedition of Lafayette Against Arnold; A paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, January 14, 1878* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1878), 32–34; John Austin Stevens, "Ebenezer Stevens, Lieutenant Colonel of Artillery in the Continental Army," *Magazine of American History*, Vol. 1 (1877), 605; Eller, ed., *Chesapeake Bay*, 128–29, 210–11, 423–24; *Maryland Gazette*, April 5, 1781.

40. Benson Bobrick, *Angel in the Whirlwind; the Triumph of the American Revolution* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 442; Samuel B. Griffith II, *The War for American Independence, From 1760 to the Surrender at Yorktown in 1781* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 649.

41. Robert Morris, Philadelphia, to His Excellency the Governor, August 28, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 47: 453–54; Washington to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, August 27, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 23:57; Ex. Council to Gen. Washington August 30, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 45:588.

42. For a discussion of Maryland as the logistics and transportation center for the Yorktown Campaign, see Robert W. Tinder, "Extraordinary Measures: Maryland and the Yorktown Campaign, 1781," *MdHM*, 95 (2000): 133.

43. Washington to Governor Thomas Sim Lee, September 11, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 23:112; Executive Council to the Commissaries . . . September 5, 1781, *Arch. Md.*, 45:603.

44. Council to General Washington, August 30, 1781, *Arch. Md.* 45:588.

45. Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 125; Bobrick, *Angel in the Whirlwind*, 454–66; John Ferling, *Almost A Miracle: The American Victory in the War of Independence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 523–39.

46. *Maryland Gazette*, November 29, 1781.

47. Dorsey, "The Pattern of Baltimore Commerce," *MdHM*, 62 (1967), 121–25; Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 132.



Kent County, 1864. Detail from Johnson & Ward, *Johnson's Delaware and Maryland*. (Maryland Historical Society.)

“A Power Unknown to Our Laws”: Unionism in Kent County, Maryland 1861–1865

Brandon P. Righi

In an essay dated February 24, 1860, Joseph Burchinal, a student at Washington College in Chestertown, distressfully posed the question on many local minds, “[C]an we suppose that the North would send to the presidential chair and to Congress, men not to honor, who would take legally or illegally, every advantage [of] the South[?]” The prospect disturbed many local residents. “For if this be the case,” he continued, “every American south of Mason’s & Dixon’s Line should be loud in his acclamation for southern secession.” Following Lincoln’s election in November 1860, and in the spirit of the “secession winter” shortly thereafter, many Eastern Shore men did indeed support secession. Yet a majority of Chestertownians sided, at least reluctantly, with the Union. After considering the option of disunion, forced upon the South by Northern fanatics, Burchinal continued, “I am persuaded that this would not be the case. Millions of northern hearts beat warmly for the South.” He then went on to consider, with optimism, the benefits of union. As the young man wrote, most Chestertownians only flirted with secession, an idea deemed unattractive after careful consideration of its consequences.¹

Chestertown’s experience during the war years illuminates the unionism of slave holding states and its relationship with slavery and race. Kent County’s union predilections, sentimental and economic in nature, prevailed for practical reasons when war broke out. Although the Civil War ended the pragmatic evolution of the slavery debate, and most white Kent Countians abhorred a revolution of the slave/master relationship, discarding the previous eighty years of stability under the federal government seemed foolish. Under the mantra “to save the Union,” Kent ranked among the most patriotic areas in Maryland. Yet when county residents realized the outcome could be a Union “as it ought to be,” at least in the eyes of the loathed abolitionists, support for the federal government would take a drastic downturn. Military interference in Maryland elections, emancipation of southern slaves, and the eventual abolishment of slavery in the border states all contributed to the marked souring of Kent’s opinion of the government and the

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war—a legacy of dissatisfaction that survived the silencing of the battlefields in the spring of 1865 and shaped the local political map for years to come.

Staking Out a Position

Kent residents logged forty-two votes for Lincoln, more than any county south of Cecil.² Two counties, Worcester and Kent's immediate southern neighbor, Queen Anne's, cast no votes for the Republican, and the slaveholding strongholds of Prince George's, Calvert, and St. Mary's Counties in southern Maryland tallied just one in each county.³ Even in contrast with these more anti-Lincoln areas, of course, Kent's critics of the "Northern Party" still handily outnumbered its scattered supporters. Extremist critics lobbied for Maryland to follow the states of the Deep South into secession, attracting a group of hardliners that would remain active throughout the war. Nonetheless, the county maintained a Union majority, as seen in the elections of 1861.

Kent's unionism can be attributed to the pragmatic desire to avoid bloodshed on Maryland soil and the belief that secession and its tumultuous consequences would do more damage than good to area interests. From the outset of the crisis, Kent Countians made clear their preference for the status quo and berated secession and abolition with equal vigor. Recognizing that the state was too weak to drastically alter the course of events leading to civil war, Maryland's leaders safely bet on remaining in the Union.

The *Kent News* staked out this tenuous position among the county's conservative population as the sectional crisis escalated.⁴ A weekly newspaper with Whig origins, the *News* set the tone for Kent's experience during the war with a passionately anti-secessionist editorial:

The doctrine of peaceable secession, we repudiate, as inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the Constitution, with the teachings of the Fathers of the Republic, and the genius of our Government. . . . The simple fact of an election, in opposition to our wishes and opinions, may be grounds of regret and mortification, but none for resistance or dismemberment.

But it was also a position that set out to make clear that opposition to disunion did not translate to support for the party of the North, "We are as friendly to the South, her rights and institutions, as South Carolinians—and we denounce as strongly the conduct of the North, in reference to our fugitives from service."⁵

The *Kent News*, a moderate public voice on the Eastern Shore during the war, had one rival publication, the *Chestertown Transcript*, solidly Democratic. The other, John Leeds Barroll's *Kent Conservator*, served as the voice of the county's fire-eaters.⁶ Yet, in that relative moderation, we see a stance towards the looming conflict that would only be sustainable in a border state such as Maryland. A

more hard-line column of the *News*, already wading into the volatile debate over whether or not the governor should call for a state convention, read, "The time has come to vindicate the Constitution. . . . If the Northern States accede, it is well, but if they *refuse*, it will *then* be for Maryland to decide . . . upon her future course."⁷ The secessionist *Conservator* published material with even less ambiguous exhortations for a convention.⁸ The state benefited from the bonds of union, but Kent residents were not yet ready to abandon the old ways.

South Carolina's rapid secession following Lincoln's election, and the immediate exit of Deep South states, prompted decisive action by all of the slave states, either for unanimity or to arrest the move toward disunion and civil war. Maryland's course became a primary issue after the Republican victory, specifically, with whom the state would side in the looming conflict. Early disagreement focused on whether the heavily Democratic state legislature should convene to consider the issue.⁹

On Tuesday, January 8, 1861, residents of the town gathered at the court house, "with a view to the expression of opinion on the part of Kent," the first of numerous like gatherings throughout the war.¹⁰ And it was here that the wartime divisions of the voters of Kent became apparent. Several other counties in the state had already held similar town hall meetings that resulted in the endorsement of a call of the legislature. The question drove a wedge in Kent's voting population and laid the groundwork for wartime political parties.¹¹ The majority of those at the meeting, regardless of their conservative bent, took a moderate wait-and-see position, indicative of their torn sympathies. Not about to advocate the radical path of secession, the only sure consequence of which would have been invasion from the north, Chestertownians, in that moment, cast their lot with Washington.

Several of the area's prominent men attended that meeting, among them the Honorable Ezekiel Foreman Chambers, who served as the gathering's president. A longtime judge at the local Chestertown Circuit Court, Chambers was an important and wealthy landholder with long ties to Kent. Born in Chestertown in 1788, he had fought the British at the Battle of Caulk's Field in the War of 1812 and had served as a United States senator for Maryland from 1826 to 1834. Chambers graduated from Washington College at the age of seventeen, practiced law in the town, and also served as the college's President of the Board of Visitors and Governors for twenty-four years. Before his death in 1867 he would also participate in the Maryland Constitutional Convention of 1864 and in that same year ran unsuccessfully as the Democratic candidate for governor. Available statistics indicate that Chambers was also one of the largest slaveholders in Kent County.¹²

George Vickers, another prominent local figure, wealthy landowner, and slaveholder also participated in the meeting. Vickers, likewise a native of Chestertown, practiced law and sold real estate, the latter apparently his primary source of income as he advertised one or more farms each week. He served as a Democratic presidential elector in 1864, an advisor to Governor Augustus Bradford, and as

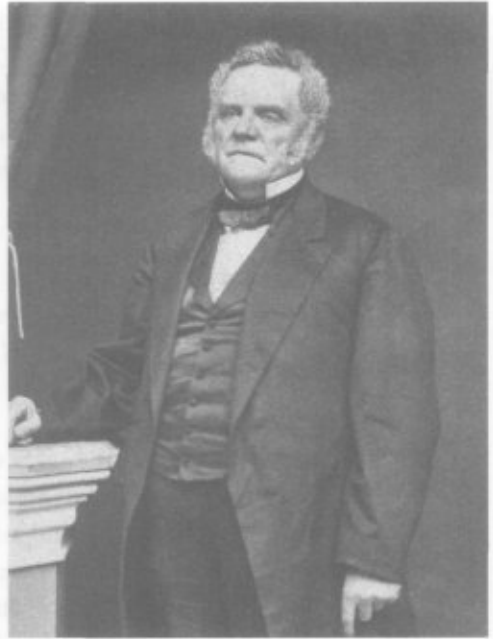


George Vickers (1801–1879), c. 1865–1870.
(Library of Congress.)

a U. S. senator from 1868 to 1873. The meeting brought together several other men who would become closely involved in the events of the coming war.

At this first Union meeting, the only truly non-partisan political gathering in Chestertown for the duration of the war, differences arose between Chambers and Vickers that within a few short weeks defined two party lines. Chambers, acting as the meeting's president, had several innocuous and patriotic resolutions passed unanimously. "Full and very animated debate" followed, however, upon the two resolutions that called for Governor Thomas H. Hicks to summon the Maryland General Assembly and authorize a sovereign convention. The reasoning behind the call for convention was, according to Chambers and other supporters of the resolutions, "necessary to perpetuate our glorious Union," as Maryland would then clearly align with the Constitution and Union and stifle calls for secession. Vickers, along with Governor Hicks and many other Marylanders, doubted the state legislature's patriotism. Thus, upon the vote for the resolutions calling for a state convention, he presented a substitute to the voters that applauded Hicks's course and included a vague reference to "the time shall arrive for Maryland to speak."¹³ A "large majority" adopted Vickers's resolution.¹⁴ Chestertownians, not trusting the Democratic assembly's motives, believed Hicks's cautious strategy the wisest.

Some Kent County and the Eastern Shore residents preferred, of course, more drastic measures to protect southern institutions. Men who favored an expedient call for a convention quickly formed a political bloc in Kent. This group, briefly known as "Convention Men," and after the outbreak of hostilities as the Peace Party, grew large enough for the *News* and other state Union papers to attack, particularly during elections.¹⁵ Southern sympathizers working to frustrate fed-



Governor Thomas Holliday Hicks,
1861. (Maryland Historical Society.)

eral war aims, as well as outright secessionists, provoked grave concerns among Maryland Unionists. The Eastern Shore had no shortage of those hostile to the Lincoln administration and Federal war efforts, and so a description of this important segment of the population is essential in understanding the area's political makeup and the strength of Kent Unionism in the early stages of the war.

In Chestertown, John Leeds Barroll, as the voice of the weekly *Kent Conservator*, became one of the most aggressive representatives of the Peace men. A local lawyer and member of one of the Eastern Shore's older families, he energetically attacked Hicks's indecisiveness and any political development that he believed bode ill for southern interests.¹⁶ For the *Conservator*, the disagreement at the January 8 Union Meeting resulted in "discord," "animosity," and "party feeling." Those in favor of a convention therefore called an exclusive meeting for February 9 at which they disowned any support of secession. The *Conservator*, defending its political ally Chambers, declared the judge only "anxious to protect [his] negroes. . . . He is not a man to give his negroes and his life to appease the offended, blood-thirsty Demons of Abolitionism."¹⁷ Ironically, the extremists fully understood the ramifications of the crisis, as both secessionists and abolitionists focused on the issue of slavery. At the moment, however, the unionists of Maryland seemed determined to ignore that controversy.

At the February 9 meeting the convention men elected their delegates to the "Southern Rights Convention of Maryland," a well-attended statewide gathering held in Baltimore on February 18 and 19. The group resolved "that the secession of

the seven slaveholding States . . . was induced by the aggression of the non-slaveholding States, in violation of the Constitution,” and that Maryland should not be “made a highway for federal troops” sent to coerce the southern states. They vigorously called for a sovereign convention, and Judge Chambers, who served as president, neatly summed up the platform of the Peace men in his keynote address:

Yes, gentlemen, great and multiplied as are the blessings we have derived under the Constitution and Union, yet if they can only be enjoyed by the sacrifice of the honor and dignity of our nation and our State, we must refuse them all.

Union was desirable as long as the tides of abolition could be controlled. Departure from the United States would be seriously contemplated if “honor,” the lawful retention of property in slaves, could not be guaranteed. The Southern Rights Convention ended with a promise to meet again if the legislature was not called, a promise it never fulfilled owing to the outbreak of hostilities.¹⁸

Political antagonisms that festered in Maryland through the winter and spring of 1861 took on new importance in the month of April, as the onset of war fanned the fires of southern-sympathy in Maryland, and the suspension of *habeas corpus* in parts of the state attracted cutting criticism.¹⁹ Richard Bennett Carmichael of Centreville, Queen Anne’s County, judge of the circuit court in Easton, typified high-profile political dissatisfaction with the course of events in 1861.²⁰ A close friend of George Vickers, friend of John Leeds Barroll and Judge Chambers, and an ally of James Alfred Pearce (US senator for Maryland and a Chestertown resident), Carmichael launched an enthusiastic and organized campaign against military power in Maryland. The threat to *habeas corpus* and subsequent military arrests of political dissenters drew his greatest ire. Carmichael’s charge to the Grand Jury of Talbot County instructed jurors to acquit those victimized by “arbitrary, illegal, and false imprisonments,” and in his controversial petition to the Maryland General Assembly (to which unionist newspapers such as the *News* referred to as the “Secession Legislature”) he, along with forty-eight other citizens of Queen Anne’s County, pleaded that the body not adjourn as many had requested.²¹ The petition labeled the legislature’s critics as “confederates of the Governor” and described the Union soldiers in Maryland as “out-laws,” “traitors,” and “usurpers.”²²

The high-profile actions of Peace men such as Chambers and Carmichael, although certainly considered a liability by the Lincoln administration and its backers, functioned only as the political machinations of a movement that also had armed components. The military presence in Maryland, beginning with Brigadier General Benjamin Butler’s troops in late April and May of 1861, coincided with very real concerns regarding the strength of secessionist military companies



Richard Bennett Carmichael.
(Maryland Historical Society.)

in the state. During the summer of 1861, Major General John A. Dix of the Commanding Department of Annapolis repeatedly asked for arms and troops to suppress secessionist military companies training in “Caroline, Queen Anne [sic], and Carroll Counties.”²³ Kent citizens S.W. Spencer, Jesse K. Hines, and George Vickers, concerned that a secessionist “outbreak” might follow the Confederate victory at Bull Run (Manassas), contacted the governor.²⁴ Hicks made frequent pleas for Federal troops to put down a Maryland rebellion he saw as imminent, a “desperate struggle” in the state seemed to linger on the horizon, particularly early in the year. Confederate smugglers from Maryland’s Eastern Shore to mainland Virginia concerned state officials throughout the war, with the Pocomoke and Annemessex Rivers reportedly swarming with “armed pirates and blockade runners” as late as August 1864.²⁵

Naturally, the perceived strength of Confederate sympathizers in the state contributed to the unease of Unionists at election time. Still intimidated by the rebellious April riot in Baltimore, Augustus Bradford (of Harford County and Union candidate for Governor in November 1861) requested that Major General Dix require that voters take an oath of loyalty before the gubernatorial election. Hicks then requested that oaths be administered at polling places and expressed fear that the election of the Peace candidate for Governor, Benjamin Howard, seemed likely. On the Eastern Shore, George Vickers, an active agent of the Union candidacy, sent \$82.80 worth of the *Kent News* issues to Centreville, an act deemed necessary to help swing that town’s electorate in favor of Bradford.²⁶

Maryland’s active Peace Party and Confederate sympathizers attracted much attention from unionists and military authorities, but nonetheless the Union cause

proved victorious in state politics. Kent unionism had a strong foundation, with the county's leading newspaper firmly behind the administration after the firing on Fort Sumter and well-attended Chestertown union meetings. But it is the vote tallies from the year's two elections that best display the strength of the local party. On June 11, after Lincoln called a special session of Congress to address the national crisis, county officials held elections to fill seats in the House of Representatives. Kent (part of the Second Congressional District in 1861), put forth Union candidate Edwin Webster, who ran unopposed. County voters awarded him 993 votes, 140 more than they had cast for the Constitutional Union presidential candidate John Bell in 1860.²⁷ The November elections were even more decidedly in favor of the unionists, with Augustus Bradford beating Howard 1,095 to 663, "a majority," claimed the *News*, "larger than ever before given in any contested election in Kent County." Compared to Bell's 1860 presidential tally, Bradford bested him by 242. John A. Dix had declined Bradford's and Hicks's requests that military authorities require loyalty oaths, reasoning that the governor lacked the authority to interfere in a state election. The November 1861 elections, free of military interference, are therefore the most accurate gauge of union sentiment in the early war period.²⁸

Unionism prevailed in Maryland in 1861, but it was of the typical, conservative border-state brand, and Kent's bore no exception. County unionists offered strong opposition to secession, but made clear that the purpose of the war was to re-form the Union "as it was." They vigorously opposed any abolitionist policy with near unanimity and their Union Party, formed in early 1861, strongly condemned "the multiplied instances of resistance to constitutional rights of slaveholders." Chestertown's leading unionist figures, many if not most of them slaveholders, took a conservative stance on the slavery question. The *News* commonly railed on the abolitionist "Black Republicans," and from Lincoln's election through the end of the war made no secret of its partisanship.²⁹

Such opinions harmonized with Maryland's various elected representatives, United States senators Anthony Kennedy and James Alfred Pearce, elected as Democrats in the 1850s, took exception to many of Lincoln policies. Pearce (who rarely left Chestertown after the first half of 1861 because of illness, and finally died there in December 1862) proved particularly critical of Lincoln's military control policies on the Western Shore and the suspension of *habeas corpus*. He complained to his personal friend, Representative John W. Crisfield, ". . . tho [sic] they [the administration] profess as their creed, the union[,] the constitution & the enforcement of the laws[,] they are violating the one & setting the other at naught on the tyrants plea of necessity." Nonetheless Pearce consistently opposed secession, a course of action that, as he put it, would be Maryland's "ruin."

This statement touches on a key tenet of conservative Unionism. One of the more popular positions against secession rested in the realization that Maryland, should it leave the Union, would be the northernmost state to do so, a guarantee



United States Senator James Alfred Pearce (1804–1862), n.d. (Library of Congress.)

that any civil war would be fought on its soil. Crisfield summed up this reality, when he wrote to Pearce, “Disunion—at least disunion on the line of Mason & Dixon—is death to us.” The *Kent News* also articulated this convincing argument, reasoning that “Our geographical position would cause us to be the arena of strife and deadly conflict, between the legions of the North and the South, and as a small power between immense ones, we would be crushed between the ‘upper and the nether mill stone.’” Even so, the slave-owning Pearce, truly torn, professed his conviction on the impossibility of a restoration of the Union, and his friend Judge Richard B. Carmichael did nothing to dispel these doubts.³⁰

Crisfield, elected to Congress from Maryland’s First District in 1861, was of the same political mold as most other Maryland Unionists. Born in Chestertown in 1806 and educated at Washington College, Crisfield in 1860 lamented Lincoln’s “inevitable” election as “a disgrace to our national character, to say nothing of the positive mischief to southern interests.” In letters from early 1861 to his friend Senator Pearce he proved to be critical of the Lincoln administration, calling the new president an “utter failure,” and “a well meaning, but a weak, man.” Yet the start of civil war saw Crisfield support Lincoln’s call for troops with the hope that the assembling force would “prevent the flow of blood, by the exhibition of an overwhelming force.”³¹

Like countless other Maryland politicians, Crisfield regretted Republican control of the White House, but party labels dissolved with the start of the war as defenders of slavery took up the Union banner. Sentiment in Chestertown and Kent County paralleled the trend. Despite the threat of militants, overt secessionists found very little political success in Maryland, and the more moderate Peace Party fared poorly at the ballot box. The Unionists in Chestertown and the sur-



John W. Crisfield (1806–1897), c. 1860.
(Library of Congress.)

rounding area, for the most part, managed to forget the differences most of them had with the platform of the Republican administration, and most early federal wartime actions met with approval. Even the September arrests of the so-called “Secession Legislature” in Frederick, part of an already well-entrenched campaign by the Federal government to silence political dissidents, was met with enthusiasm from the *News*. The editor reasoned that “Gen. Washington found it necessary to arrest domestic traitors and [the government] but follows his example.”³²

Yet when Kent Unionists considered specific political questions, most obviously those of slavery and emancipation, they knew all too well of their incompatibility with Lincoln’s platform. What sustained this precarious bond, then, was a certainty that the slavery question was not the pressing issue at the war’s outset. Upon an objective consideration of the unfolding events, how could it have been? Before secession, the southern politicians wielded “complete power . . . over the present Administration, through their majorities in the Senate, and . . . the House of Representatives,” and as the Maryland State Union Party astutely observed in June, “The question of slavery,” therefore, “we believe to be not seriously in the contest.”

Secession seemed the surest way to financial and physical ruin, and thus the quickest path for slavery’s demise.³³ Kent Unionists, despite being “Southerners in all our feelings and affections,” would stick with the tried-and-true Union, under which southern institutions had always flourished. In 1861 most Maryland Unionists, Governor-elect Augustus Bradford among them, hoped to avoid a rupture of the Union Party by ignoring the slavery question altogether. Bradford refused to debate or discuss the issue during his campaign, saying he “could not conceive how the discussion of it . . . can in any contingency contribute to strengthen the

loyalty of Maryland at this crisis." Ignoring the era's political white elephant, however, proved to be an unrealistic proposition, and in the war's coming years evolving Federal slave policies would strain Kent Unionism.³⁴

Into the Second Year of War

In Chestertown, the second year of the war started as the first had ended, with enthusiastic support of the Federal military effort. Local militiamen had been organizing throughout 1861, and in January 1862 they numbered around five hundred men at their base at "Camp Vickers," just outside of town.³⁵ In February the men started to leave for the Eastern Shore of Virginia to be mustered into the 2nd Eastern Shore Volunteer Infantry, commanded by Colonel Edward Wilkins of Kent County. Their first assignment while in Accomack and Northampton Counties was to prevent smuggling between Delmarva and mainland Virginia. The departure was met with enthusiasm by the *News*, and the unit consistently corresponded with the newspaper. Military volunteerism remained strong into the summer, and by August, sixty-two Chestertownians enlisted out of a voting population of less than two hundred.³⁶

By summer, Lincoln had issued calls for troops totaling 600,000 men, to be drawn from state militias, and all deficiencies would be filled by drafts in the states that had not satisfied their quotas. The *News* fully supported the draft, "if the war is to be vigorously and successfully prosecuted, it is . . . necessary that a large additional force should be called into the field." Kent Countians could afford such enthusiasm, as the county's quota of 341 men had been easily surpassed, with 448 in service in October. At the same time, those counties considered strongholds of secessionism, Calvert, St. Mary's, Prince George's, and Charles, counted a combined total of seven men in service—and Queen Anne's County fell 306 men behind its quota.³⁷

Although the "men in the street" of Chestertown and Kent County felt imbued with a martial spirit, the political elites increasingly found themselves at odds with federal policy. In 1862 this emerging chasm between Kent and Washington D.C. became apparent in two areas, Federal arrests and "negro policy," issues that in the war's later years greatly soured the county's Unionist enthusiasm. In October 1861, Secretary of State William Seward had recommended to Dix that Carmichael be arrested for disloyalty, and Dix proposed the idea to Governor Bradford the following February. The general said that the judge "has for many months been one of the prime movers of disaffection and disloyalty on the Eastern Shore," undoubtedly referring to his efforts to derail Federal arrests of Southern sympathizers and his efforts to keep the "Secession Legislature" from adjourning. But Dix revealed that he had "forborne to take any measure in regard to him by the advice of gentlemen on the Eastern Shore," a bow to Carmichael's numerous friends and acquaintances such as Vickers, Pearce, and Crisfield. "[B]ut," Dix pitched in early 1862, "I believe the feeling is now nearly unanimous that his disloyal and

vindictive conduct has been endured too long." Bradford apparently refrained from comment and allowed Dix to pursue the arrest.³⁸ Carmichael's actual arrest in Easton, on May 27, made for an exciting story, as Federal troops apprehended him in his courtroom, with a trial in progress, beating him over the head with a revolver butt to overcome his resistance.³⁹

The news of Carmichael's detainment in Fort McHenry did not trouble writers for the *News*. Although they expressed regret at the violence, they went on to remind readers that the judge "had himself to blame" for the affair. This same episode, also perceived as an exercise in military power, horrified notable Eastern Shore Union men, many of them Carmichael's friends. Senator Pearce, by this time quite ill, lobbied forcefully for the judge, visiting Secretary of War Stanton and other officials on his behalf (Pearce's agitation drew grumblings from General Wool, who criticized Stanton for even entertaining such a visit). Pearce's friend Representative John W. Crisfield, equally active in the matter, also wrote to the president and personally contacted Secretary Seward. George Vickers likewise lobbied for the judge.⁴⁰ "Prominent and Substantial Union men of Centreville" assembled a petition addressed to Lincoln calling for Carmichael's release, their main fear being the effect of the violent arrest on the sympathies of "conservative union men" of the Eastern Shore.⁴¹

By November, even the *News* called forcefully for the judge's release, for the "wants and necessities of the public" required that the courts be held.⁴² Late in the year, however, columns in the *News* espoused a marked level of bitterness in relation to the other controversial matter for Kent Unionists in 1862—the federal government's increasingly liberal behavior in the realm of slavery. In December 1861 abolitionists introduced a bill into Congress to emancipate the slaves in the District of Columbia, and by April 1862 the measure passed into law. The newly free soil of the nation's capital attracted many runaways from adjacent counties in Maryland and infuriated their owners, who called the law "unwise, ill-timed, unconstitutional, and . . . the entering wedge of a general scheme of abolition." Maryland Unionists fought the proposal during congressional debate and lobbied for full respect and enforcement of the 1850 Fugitive Slave law once the emancipation law passed. Governor Bradford, who described the District's emancipation as a "selfish and incendiary course of those who . . . have persisted in this wanton violence to the feelings of the border states," did his best to see that Maryland slaveowners would be able to enter the capital and retrieve their runaway property.⁴³

This early squabble over slave policy, one that paled in comparison to future events, strained Maryland's Union Party. Although organs of the party's conservative wing adamantly opposed any entry of the emancipation debate into the public forum, and commonly tossed around rhetoric to the effect of, "abolitionists and the secessionists are equally detestable . . . and both seem bent on the destruction of the country," Baltimore Unionists held meetings separate from the state party and passed resolutions endorsing Lincoln's policy of gradual emancipation.⁴⁴

Yet the dissatisfaction of the state's conservative Unionists reached new depths upon word of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, issued on September 22 and set to take effect on the first day of 1863. The *News*, simply aghast at the idea of freeing all of the slaves in the South, steamed, "No authority exists in him nor in the Government combined to interfere with the relation of slavery." And further, opined the editors, the proclamation "closes the door to reconciliation—places the Confederates at defiance—embitters and aggravates the feelings of hostility between the sections." According to conservative Unionists the president had at the same time alienated loyal slaveholders of the Border States, and reinvigorated the Confederates enthusiasm to fight, a seemingly disastrous situation. And since the proclamation instituted "wholesale emancipation," and no plan to deport the newly freed slaves, the *News* predicted that it "would be the most unwise and injurious act towards the negroes themselves that could possibly be committed," as a new war "for the ejection [sic] of the African race from the country" was surely on the horizon.⁴⁵

In general, the Emancipation Proclamation received a cold reception in Maryland. The *Baltimore American*, among the most unconditional supporters of Lincoln's wartime policy, doubted the constitutionality of freeing the slaves of the South as well as the proclamation's military value. Governor Bradford likewise missed any military or political expediency being served by sudden emancipation, and said that the proclamation would only give the rebels "a rallying cry against us." He refused to sign an address issued by representatives of sixteen states approving of the measure. In Congress, the Maryland delegation delivered nearly unanimous condemnation. Representative Crisfield, particularly hostile to the proposal, quipped that it triggered "astonishment, terror, and indignation" in every loyal heart. Keeping in line with his previous opinions of Lincoln, articulated in letters to Senator Pearce, Crisfield lamented that conviction of the president's "incapacity is every day becoming more universal."⁴⁶

In May, before the proclamation of September 1862, Thomas Hicks, still an active Unionist despite no longer being governor, sent a letter to Lincoln that he hoped would help stem the tide of emancipation. "I beg you," Hicks wrote, "Keep down as far as you can the ultra men of the North." The former Maryland governor begged the president to put all effort behind beating the South militarily before paying attention to freeing slaves, unnecessary meddling that he, like Bradford, considered damaging to the Union cause in the border states. Representative Crisfield, in correspondence with Senator Pearce (who was on his deathbed, and would die in December at age 57), took a less optimistic tone on the subject of retaining slavery after the war. At the end of 1862 both Hicks and the *Kent News* held hope that the "peculiar institution" would survive. "I am satisfied," Crisfield said, "that so far as the administration and this Congress are concerned, slavery is doomed." Dramatically he continued, "Every day the conviction is more

and more thorough that republican constitutional liberty is overthrown, and that we must soon have a master." During Congress's 1862 session, Crisfield engaged in cutthroat debates in the House defending slavery in Maryland, in particular with abolitionist Representative Owen Lovejoy, who deplored Crisfield's defense of an institution "which is a stench in the nostrils of God." Crisfield took the traditional southern patriarchal stance, claiming the choice before them lay "between slavery on the one hand, and degradation, poverty, suffering, and ultimate extinction on the other."⁴⁷

The unprecedented Federal intervention in the institution of slavery, along with persistent and sometimes heavy-handed Federal suppression of dissent in Maryland (typified by Carmichael's arrest), certainly altered the harmony of purpose of the previous year. Military recruitment, for the time being, proceeded without much trouble, as only the state's political elites seemed to realize slavery's days were truly numbered. Obnoxious Federal slave policies and military intervention into the political realm would continue in Maryland, and in the next year erupt in scandal, causing many to question their loyalty and, ultimately, the implosion of the state Union Party.

The Threshold of Emancipation

The argument over emancipation naturally spilled into 1863. All of the slaves in the seceded states were, at least on paper, "free." The stakes rose, as did the *News*' hyperbole when revisiting the issue upon the inauguration of a new year. The editors lamented Lincoln's display of executive power, one that "can find no parallel or precedent in the history of the world, since Adam and Eve left the garden of Eden."⁴⁸

The slaves of Kent and Maryland, however, remained legally bound, and defenders of the institution worked against any further agitation of the question, at least until the end of armed conflict. The *News* energetically condemned those they deemed obsessed with the issue, lumping together abolitionist politicians and secessionists as equally deplorable. But emancipation, undeniably a fixture of state politics and Maryland party developments, evolved solely along the issue. By the end of the year conservative Unionists, easily a majority of Kent's voting population, sat on the losing end of the emancipation debate. Foiled at the ballot box by marked military interference, and humiliated by what they saw as inexcusable violations of property rights, Kent Unionists were left with only bitterness at year's end, a feeling that would show in 1864's important elections and referenda.⁴⁹

The unified state Union Party did not last long into 1863. Early in the year Unionists held meetings at various locations, calling for "more effectual" support of the Lincoln administration, and condemning those who opposed tenets of the president's platform. The Grand League of Baltimore Unionists soon called for a convention to assemble on June 16, inviting "all persons who support the whole

Governor Augustus W. Bradford
(1806–1881), n.d.
(Maryland Historical Society.)



policy of the Government.”⁵⁰ Conservatives, not inclined to support emancipation or other controversial federal policies such as raising regiments of black troops, quickly organized their own convention for June 23, as the State Central Committee. They referred to the former group as “League Men” or “Unconditional Unionists,” and the latter as “Conservatives.”⁵¹

The fact that both sects of unionists claimed to be the legitimate Union Party of Maryland added to the confusion. On June 23, when both conventions met in Baltimore to articulate their platforms and nominate candidates for statewide offices, the Union League Convention communicated with the State Central Committee, or Conservative Convention, proposing that the two meetings disband and meet together on some future day. James Ricaud of Kent County made noise against this proposal, rejecting the Union League’s ability to call a convention and refusing to allow “the subject of emancipation...[to] be settled by a party convention.” The two conventions never united as planned. Another peculiar situation arose in Kent when Unionists of the First District met in Cambridge, Maryland, to nominate a candidate for Congress. Both Conservative and Unconditional Unionists sent delegates to the convention (Kent was the only county in the district to send two delegations), only to have the Unconditional Unionists turned away. The Conservatives re-nominated John Crisfield, but Unconditional Unionists of the First District later met in Easton and nominated John A.J. Creswell for the seat.⁵²

The disarray of the state’s Unionists, and the reality that the federal government would naturally favor the Unconditional men, did not initially render the Conservatives pessimistic. On the Eastern Shore, the Conservatives held a healthy

majority, and thus hoped to frustrate the state's abolition movement. The *News*, as late as September 5, lashed out at papers endorsing emancipation, saying, "Every intelligent man knows that Congress never made any . . . decision [to support national emancipation] . . . and [a] recent letter of the President . . . is a flat contradiction of the assertion that the Administration has."⁵³ But the high spirits of conservatives soon fell, particularly with federal efforts to enlist so-called "Colored Regiments," an effort that began in the spring of 1863. The enlistment of African Americans, one of the controversial issues that splintered the Union Party in Maryland, started with confiscated slaves of Confederates, then encompassed the state's free black population, and finally included those whom loyal owners still held in slavery. This progression proved unpopular with Conservatives, and slave owners in the affected areas loathed it. Kent County soon felt the weight of this desperation for troops, a situation that raised dissatisfaction with the federal government to new levels.

In May 1863, the War Department established the Bureau of Colored Troops and recruiting began in the summer. Secretary of War Edwin Stanton chose William Birney, son of a noted abolitionist, to recruit in Baltimore.⁵⁴ Colonel Birney started by enlisting former slaves of Confederates held in city and county jails, along with free blacks. In September the recruitment effort took the turn that Conservatives dreaded. Judge Hugh Lennox Bond of the Baltimore Circuit Court sent a letter to Secretary Stanton lobbying in support of soliciting current slaves to join the colored regiments.⁵⁵ Judge Bond's proposal attracted an outpouring of opposition from Maryland Unionists, including Governor Bradford and Thomas Hicks.⁵⁶ Vickers, who said of Bond's proposal that "no grosser violation of law, justice & Constitution, was ever contemplated," influenced Bradford who publicly attacked slave recruitment in a letter published in the state's newspapers. The governor fumed that the enlistment scheme "is calculated to inflict irreparable damage upon the Union cause, and is alarming, agitating, provoking, and disgusting our Union-loving and Government supporting citizens beyond any thing that has lately occurred in the State." Hicks also warned Lincoln of the rising resentment among once fully loyal Marylanders.⁵⁷

Appeals for relief from slave enlistments eventually succeeded, but not before large numbers were "abducted" from the counties of the Eastern Shore. Almost immediately after Judge Bond's letter to Stanton leaked to the press in early September, officers under the ambitious Col. Birney steamed across the bay. It is difficult to exaggerate the revulsion Eastern Shoremen, Unionist or other, expressed at what happened when the ships arrived. The *News*, upon hearing word that slaves were targeted for recruitment, wailed that "[Maryland] is now to have her slaves taken, her crops ungathered . . . her people brought to suffering for her patriotism and sacrifices in the cause of their country!" During the second week of September Birney landed at Queen Anne's County and, according to John B.

Ricaud, George B. Westcott, S.W. Spencer, and George Vickers, in a letter of complaint to the Governor, confiscated "more than one hundred slaves." The men complained that "some sudden and unlooked for act of the military power [offends] our people and again casts a gloom and despondency over every loyal heart. . . . Great outrages are daily perpetrated." Despondency obviously gripped letter writers who reasoned that "want and partial starvation must be the inevitable result" of the loss of slave labor.⁵⁸

On September 20 a steamer landed in Kent, "off Eastern Neck Island, in the lower part of this county," and "carried off" an estimated 150 to two hundred slaves, "including nearly every able bodied slave in Eastern Neck." The *News* again reported on October 3 that nearly three hundred slaves had been abducted from Chestertown the previous week. "No discrimination was made between loyal and disloyal owners." The editors could not contain their disgust, "Our vernacular is unable to express the feeling of indignation and of mortification that these proceedings have aroused among all classes of the community."⁵⁹ Vickers used similar language in a letter to Bradford when he protested that the "The Piratical Steamer from Baltimore," landed and took slaves belonging to "Mr. Ricaud, & I suppose other loyal men. . . . We are indignant without exception." Indeed, Vickers seems to have been particularly offended by the slave recruitments, as word of his vibrant countermeasures soon reached Washington. According to Birney, Vickers, although formerly "a noisy Constitutional Union man," had become a "virulent enemy of the Government and associates with known secessionists." Birney also reported that he had learned that Vickers:

. . . proposed to two secessionists to raise a mob at Chestertown and burn the small Government steamer employed for the transportation of recruits for the U.S. colored troops; and that he was busy and officious in advising masters of slaves to offer armed resistance to the recruiting officers.

Vickers's friend, Judge Richard B. Carmichael, back on the bench after being released from federal custody in late 1862, was also active against the recruitment of slaves, prompting Birney to label him a "vindictive and dangerous enemy to the Government."⁶⁰

Lincoln, aware of Vickers' position in the Bradford administration and perhaps receptive to the growing resentment of heretofore loyal Maryland slave owners, directed Secretary Stanton in early October to issue orders establishing strict guidelines for any further slave recruitment in Maryland, stipulating that only slaves of known disloyal citizens could be confiscated. Slaves of loyal owners were to enlist only with their owners' consent. Loyal owners received compensation of not more than \$300 per enlisted servant. As for Vickers's inflammatory behavior, Lincoln specifically ordered Birney not to arrest the Bradford aide.⁶¹

Enthusiasm for the 1863 elections, which included the contest for the First Congressional District as well as several local offices, soared in Chestertown. The two wings of the former Maryland Union Party, fully split by November, offered tickets of opposing candidates, and for the first time since 1860 Democrats ran for office in a bid to take advantage of the divided Union Party vote. Yet despite the complexity of the tickets, statewide officials expected success of the conservative Unionists in the First District.⁶² What was not expected, however, was the brazen behavior of John Frazier Jr., the Provost Marshal of the Eastern Shore and Unconditional Union candidate for Clerk of the Circuit Court in Kent County.⁶³ The disruptions that took place on his orders combined with highly questionable polling practices elsewhere in the district and state led to a resounding Unconditional Union victory. The aftermath found Unionists in conservative areas such as Kent County turning to the party they had just recently considered traitorous.

Interference in Eastern Shore elections, an area that had previously experienced relatively few effects of the Western Shore's military occupation, came through leaders in the Unconditional Unionist party who had contacted Lincoln about their concerns over possible disloyal voter participation. Unconditional Unionists in Chestertown and elsewhere called for the administration of test oaths for voters of "odious or objectionable character." Conservatives strongly resented such action. Vickers warned Bradford of Chestertown Unionism's growing frailty, and warned, "With all my love for the Union and the Constitution . . . I might shrink from an Oath required of me by a power unknown to our . . . Laws." Nonetheless, General Robert C. Schenck, military commander in Baltimore, issued orders requiring test oaths on the Eastern Shore despite Bradford's proclamation to the contrary.⁶⁴

Yet on election day in Chestertown, Provost Marshal John Frazier dispensed with the use of the oath and instructed his Lieutenant Colonel, Charles C. Tevis, to issue an order endorsing the Unconditional Union ticket as the only one "recognized by the Federal authorities as loyal." Frazier, apparently still not content with his chances of being elected, then had his conservative Unionist opponent for Clerk of the Circuit Court, Jesse K. Hines of Chestertown, arrested. The steamer *Nellie Pentz* landed in Chestertown on Monday evening with the Third Maryland Calvary and a detachment of New York Infantry. By Tuesday they sailed for Baltimore with Hines on board and several other prominent Union men (including Cols. Edward Wilkins and S.W. Spencer, and the editors of the *Kent News*, James H. Plummer and William B. Usilton) all of whom Frazier deemed worthy of arrest.⁶⁵ The *Nellie Pentz* sailed to Schenck's headquarters in Baltimore, where the general, recognizing the illegality of Frazier's actions, immediately released the prisoners.⁶⁶

Provost Marshal Frazier's election strategy backfired miserably. Despite the arrests, Jesse Hines won the office of Clerk of the Circuit Court by a vote of 914 to 112, and Frazier and Tevis found themselves imprisoned by General Schenck for

their interference in Kent's elections. Conservative Unionists Ricaud and Westcott won their elections for State Senate and House of Delegates, respectively, and overall the conservatives did well in the county. Frazier may have failed to swing the vote to the Unconditional Unionists in Kent, but irregularities in the rest of the First Congressional District gave John A. J. Creswell a dubious victory over conservative incumbent John Crisfield. In many districts on the Eastern Shore military authorities did not allow the Crisfield ticket. For example, in Crisfield's town of residence, Princess Anne, only one citizen was allowed to vote before the election judges were arrested and polls closed. Other abuses also marred the election, as Unconditional Unionists spent at least \$2,400 in Caroline County for bribes, and countless ballots were tampered with throughout the district.⁶⁷ The final count in the First District gave Creswell a majority of 1,260 votes.⁶⁸

At first, Eastern Shore conservatives expressed faith that the results of the Creswell election would be overturned once Bradford and the federal authorities knew of the myriad abuses, but they did not count on the crushing defeat dealt to conservative Unionists in the rest of the state. The victory of Unconditional Unionists was most complete in Baltimore, without any notable military interference, and the final vote count for the Maryland General Assembly had fifty-two of seventy-four delegates and at least twelve of twenty-one senators committed to calling a Constitutional Convention for the State.⁶⁹ Bradford, unwilling to renew the debate over emancipation by calling a new election, felt browbeaten by the combined loss of his party at the polls and the exercise of power by military authorities in direct contradiction to his wishes. While grumbling that the elections were a farce, the governor certified the results, including Creswell's election to Congress. Illustrating the level of interference, on the Eastern Shore the total votes cast for state comptroller totaled only 56.6 percent of the vote sum in the 1859 election.⁷⁰

As 1863 came to a close, even the editors of the *News* posited that "Any argument on the slavery question is now futile." The new General Assembly of the state was guaranteed to propose a constitutional convention, and all conservative Unionists could hope for was that "our Legislature will meet the subject in a fair and proper spirit." 1863 had seen drastic changes, from new levels of wartime casualties such as those at Gettysburg, to notable political developments at the national and local levels, among them gaining strength of the Democratic Party in conservative areas. In Maryland a united Union Party failed to survive the slavery debate, and by year's end the victorious radicals of the Unconditional Union Party quickly embarked on a crusade against involuntary servitude. The resulting events mirrored those elsewhere in the nation as former conservative Unionists abandoned the party, and a reinvigorated Democratic bloc emerged.⁷¹

Some in Chestertown and Kent County could not move beyond their resentment after the tumultuous fall of '63. Vickers, who made it a personal mission to see that John Frazier was permanently removed from any position of authority

(he would ultimately see this goal realized in early 1864), in December still fumed about African American enlistments. He powerlessly complained to the governor that "We have now here, a *White* Lieutenant, & 11 Negroes, in Uniform, with Arms, recruiting.... The whole proceeding is most revolting & humiliating to us."⁷² Vickers's bitterness was clear, and speaking for his group of elite slaveholding Unionists, Bradford's faithful weather vane of Maryland political sentiment gave a thankless grumble, "So much for our Loyalty & allegiance." These were the feelings leading into 1864, a year that brought two important referenda and a presidential election to the disgruntled voters of Kent. In 1864 the beginning of the Democratic political order that later ruled the area for decades came to the surface.⁷³

Radicals in the Center

By January 1864 the Northern radicals that so many Marylanders roundly despised sat at the center of the state's political power, in part due to string pulling in the District of Columbia and strong-arm tactics at the ballot box. The change of allegiance was most striking in Baltimore, a city that in 1860 had cast a majority of its presidential votes for Southern Democrat John Breckinridge, and in 1861 had brought Maryland to the doorstep of secession as it rioted upon the arrival of Northern troops. By 1864 the city was Maryland's bastion of emancipationist sentiment and the Unconditional Union Party. Thousands of Baltimoreans with southern sympathies had fled, and the impact of three years of occasionally heavy-handed military rule likely contributed much to the political about-face. In the 1859 election for State Comptroller, Baltimore residents cast a total of 23,453 votes, yet in the 1864 plebiscite for the Constitutional Convention, only 9,189 voted. Consequently, the Old Line State was on the verge of becoming the first border state to free its slaves.⁷⁴

This reversal of fortunes for the conservative class of Unionists, who at one point seemed unquestionably in control of the statewide party, embittered its members. Kent County Unionists, more hopelessly estranged than in most counties, and members of the majority conservative wing approached the last full year of the war with party flight to the Democratic side in mind. It did not take long for the Unconditional Unionist general assembly to address the catalyst, and in January the body voted in favor of various resolutions endorsing emancipation. The following month legislators passed a bill calling for a constitutional convention. On April 6, Maryland voters would have the chance to accept or reject the convention, as well as vote for convention delegates.⁷⁵

Kent County's Union factions, unable to unite, presented a divided front against Kent County's first slate of Democrats since before the war. The *News* stuck with the Union ticket in the spring, lobbying for the election of George B. Westcott, Caleb W. Spry, and John Gale as the county's delegates to the convention. The Unconditional men ran three candidates of their own, and the Demo-

crats ran three familiar faces, George S. Hollyday, David C. Blackiston (a former member of the Secession Legislature of 1861 and, according to the *News*, a "pure, unadulterated Secessionist"), and Judge Ezekiel F. Chambers (the former president of the Southern Rights Convention of 1861). The *News* was quick to criticize their politics, but to no avail. On April 6, Kent Democrats scored a notable victory at the polls and convincingly elected Hollyday, Blackiston, and Chambers. The Democratic ticket beat even the *combined* vote of the Unconditional and Conservative Unionists.⁷⁶

George Vickers, mollified with the results, acknowledged that the military had abstained "from all improper interference." He then leveled the blame for the Unionist defeat squarely on Lincoln, as he explained to Governor Bradford, "I suppose there were 350 voters who absented themselves from the Polls, [three-quarters] of whom were Union men, who doubtless were dissatisfied with the President's negro policy."⁷⁷ Kent's dissatisfaction with the approaching reality of emancipation, as well as the specter of a much more politically powerful city of Baltimore (to be achieved through a reapportionment of representatives in the new constitution) was clear in the county's vote on the convention. Nine hundred ninety-one voted against having a convention and 453 voted for the gathering.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, the statewide vote was decidedly in favor of holding the constitutional convention, and to this body Kent County was to send three archconservatives, determined to preserve the old order.⁷⁹

Judge Chambers led the Democratic delegation and put up a strong defense of slavery when the group assembled in Annapolis on April 27. Chambers sat on the Committee of the Declaration of Rights, the section of the new constitution that would ban slavery. Upon completion, Chambers authored the committee's minority protest against it.⁸⁰ The new Declaration of Rights, introduced on May 12, survived a vigorous but futile denunciation by the Democratic delegates and passed on June 24.⁸¹ Kent's delegates voted unanimously against it. The Kent delegation also voted to form a state registry of former slaves and to ban all future migration of African Americans into Maryland. In an action that would remove any teeth from Article XXIII, the delegation also voted against an amendment that allowed the state to levy fines and imprisonment for owners who continued to enslave after emancipation went into effect. Chambers, Hollyday, and Blackiston remained on the losing side of all of these proposed measures.⁸²

The convention finally approved the new constitution on September 6.⁸³ The final step in the process called for the document to be submitted to the state's voters for approval, and the convention scheduled the plebiscite for October 12–13. The original Convention Bill that passed the legislature in February had given the convention the right to establish voter qualifications, and strict rules were adopted for the public vote on the new constitution. Most controversial was the requirement of loyalty oaths, an issue that caused open disagreement between Bradford and Vickers.

Vickers considered the oaths “inquisitorial, illegal & oppressive . . . in direct conflict with the Constitution of the [U.S.]”⁸⁴ Although Vickers campaigned against election judges issuing loyalty oaths, a campaign he would lose, conservatives around the state rallied against the final passage of the new constitution. The press in Chestertown published strong denunciations of the document, with the *Transcript* going as far as saying that radicals wanted the black and white races to intermarry, forming an indefinable race. Such amalgamation would result in the extinction of humanity, the *Transcript* enlightened readers, as hybrid animals are often infertile.⁸⁵

Strong opposition from the conservative areas of the state resulted in a closely contested vote. At first indication it seemed that the document had been defeated, with newspapers as late as October 20 celebrating the demise of the “Negro-Robbing Constitution,” and on October 22 the *Baltimore Weekly Sun* was still reporting a slight advantage for the opponents. Once the soldier vote was fully tallied, however, the constitution passed by a razor-thin majority of 263 out of nearly 60,000 votes. Voters disqualified by loyalty oaths undoubtedly made the difference. The vote on the constitution followed clear sectional lines. Only one county on the Eastern Shore or in Southern Maryland, Caroline, approved the constitution—by a mere forty-eight vote margin. Kent County, fitting with the pattern, delivered a decidedly anti-constitution vote, defeating the document 1,246 to 289. Governor Bradford announced the official results on October 29, and the new state constitution went into effect November 1, 1864.⁸⁶

Kent’s vote on the new constitution came only weeks before the important general elections of November 1864, and in these contests the county’s vote took the same tone as the defeat of the new constitution. Regarding the National Union Convention held in Baltimore on June 7, the *News* restrained any editorial opinions, a pattern it held throughout the fall. Instead, lengthy letters written by anonymous readers, perhaps even the *News* editors themselves, provided strongly anti-Lincoln political commentary. One such essay instructed the average Union voter of Kent County to “recall . . . the humiliations, indignities, injustice” of the Lincoln years, and “decide like an American freeman, for whom he will vote.” In the summer the paper held out hope that a “sound, Constitutional Union candidate” would emerge for the presidential election, but if this did not happen, the tone of the paper clearly foretold its future alliance with the Democrats.⁸⁷

The Democratic Party held statewide conventions in Baltimore on June 15 and October 28, nominating Judge Ezekiel F. Chambers of Chestertown as their candidate for governor and sending three delegates to the national Democratic Convention, including Judge Richard B. Carmichael. At the national convention in Chicago, Democrats chose General George B. McClellan as their presidential candidate, and upon this politically astute nomination the conservative Union Party of Maryland began to unravel. George Vickers threw his hat into the McClellan ring, as did other notable conservatives in the state. In view of his

unpopularity among the Maryland "Peace Democrats" (who had branded him a "tyrant"), the *News* gushed over McClellan, saying he was "properly the nominee of the War Democrats and the Conservative Unionists." The paper enthusiastically noted his chances and "increasing dissatisfaction with the management of affairs and policy pursued by the present Administration." Signs pointed toward a rapid return to a two party political arena, as the Union Party became more exclusively the home of Republicans and conservatives flocked to the Democratic camp.⁸⁸

The seventy-six-year-old slaveholder (that is, until the new state constitution went into effect) Judge Ezekiel Chambers served as a fitting symbol of the old order that Maryland Democrats hoped to preserve. Their conservatism predictably carried the 1864 elections in Kent County, as the charge that the Democratic Party harbored only secession had clearly lost its potency. McClellan and Chambers captured majorities of 853 and 669, respectively, and despite *Kent News'* complaints about alleged military intervention in Talbot and Caroline Counties, McCullough beat Creswell for a seat in Congress by a district-wide vote of 9,677 to 6,307. The conservative sentiments of the county's voting population, aroused in 1863 and 1864 by gradually more liberal federal slave policies (and their increasingly aggressive enforcement), fully emerged in the votes of 1864 as they did in conservative areas nationwide, clearly inaugurating the return of two-party politics.⁸⁹

In addition to election returns, there are other indicators of Chestertown and Kent's changing Unionism. The onset of draft fatigue and general war weariness late in the conflict, combined with increasing political dissatisfaction, fostered a notable decline in the martial spirit of the population. Early in the war Kent consistently exceeded its quotas for volunteers, but by 1864 draftees did not always report for duty. Kent County's response to the new status of African Americans, as well as efforts in the county to head off any possibility of "negro equality," which took over "emancipation" as the new bogeyman of conservatives, helpfully exposed the reactionary mindset of a large portion of the population in the border state.

The 1863 Confederate invasion of Maryland, as Lee moved North in what would culminate in the Battle of Gettysburg, certainly stimulated military volunteerism, but the display of martial spirit in the summer of '63 became an increasingly uncommon phenomenon in the later war years. The new federal draft system and the call for around four hundred thousand men encountered opposition on the Eastern Shore. Chestertown's provost marshal Frazier complained of "daily" threats against enrolling officers in the First District. In August 1863, George Vickers began to protest loudly against the apportionment system of excess troops after reading in the *Baltimore Sun* that excess troop numbers would be credited to the quota of the state at large, as opposed to each county. "In Kent County," Vickers wrote Bradford, "much pains were taken by Union men & much money expended to procure Volunteers to relieve us from the Draft," relief that was being robbed by erasing the county's quota excess.⁹⁰

Relief from the draft became a primary concern in 1864, as Lincoln had issued a call that summer for an additional four hundred thousand troops. A shortfall of volunteers would result in a draft by early September. The *News* knew full well that the quota for Kent would “fall heavily on the people,” and the paper lobbied for immediate action to raise money for bounties that would encourage volunteers.⁹¹ Kent failed to meet its quota and held a draft on September 19, regardless of Vickers’s pleading that it be delayed.⁹² By November, for the first time during the war, the First District’s Provost Marshal circulated a flyer calling for information leading to the arrests of “many persons,” thirty-five in Kent’s first district alone, who had been drafted but failed to report for duty. By early 1865, Kent County thoroughly taxed by the draft and fresh federal calls for more troops, pondered whether the county’s spring troop quota of 199 was the accidental product of some confused bureaucrat. The same newspaper that earlier in the war had enthusiastically endorsed conscription now applauded “Movements to escape the draft.”⁹³

The insatiable need for more federal troops certainly worried the citizens of Kent, but political developments in 1864 caused just as much anxiety. The end of the Old South entered with the new year and national emancipation logically followed. Conservatives nationwide found the rapid escalation of the status of African Americans unsettling, and in Kent County the paternalism inherited from centuries of slaveholding proved too ingrained to shake. Conservative sentiment railed against any chance of dreaded “negro equality,” and the reaction of Chestertown’s leading conservative Unionist voice, the *News*, to the new freed man status of the county’s slaves provides a telling example of the white population’s desire to keep the races rigidly stratified.

Late 1863 saw the *News* finally admit to slavery’s rapidly approaching demise and early 1864 inaugurated the paper’s campaign against designs to establish any political equality for the minority race. Early in the year the *News* ran a venomous column against the U.S. Senate, which considered a bill guaranteeing the equal rights of the District of Columbia’s black population to use Washington’s railcars. When the state constitutional convention was under consideration the paper warned that “extreme ultra men” were plotting to accomplish “negro equality and negro voting” in Maryland. Referring to the funeral of Representative Lovejoy of Illinois, where there had been “*nine white and one negro bearers*,” as an indication of the shocking mingling of races that the radicals had in mind, the *News* warned Kent Countians “to be on their guard, or they will have negro equality and negro voting before they are aware of it!”⁹⁴

These scare tactics may have worked in Kent, where the referendum for the convention met defeat, but Maryland slaves gained their freedom upon ratification. After November 1, 1864, admirers of the old guard clung to the system of “apprenticeship,” wherein it was the duty:

of the Orphans' Court of the several counties and the city of Baltimore to bind out until they arrive at the age of twenty-one for males, and eighteen years for females, all negroes emancipated...who are minors and incapable of supporting themselves, and whose parents are unable to maintain them.⁹⁵

Through this plan to deal with indigent black youths, many slaveholders maintained a form of involuntary servitude that defied the new constitution, and members of the judiciary who sympathized with slaveholding interests hastened the process. Supporters of the system, such as the *News*, defended apprenticeship of black minors in humanitarian terms, arguing that such youths should be "taught habits of industry and economy that would be of great benefit to them when they should come to provide for themselves."⁹⁶

Many opposed the apprenticeship system and saw nothing humane in taking children away from newly freed slaves. The *News* seems to have had a tough time grasping this reality, as it reported, "There is evidently a disposition among negro parents to hold on to their children." In December opponents of apprenticeship distributed a circular, warning that such unfavorable treatment of the new free black population would result in their fleeing northward, further robbing the area of much-needed labor. "All that is requisite in this matter for the benefit of all parties," the circular read, "is to let this people alone in the possession of that freedom which the law . . . provides for them and for their children, who are equally free." The *News* attacked the logic, reasoning that the black population was "the last of all people to remove from one place to another." The *News* contradicted any claim of prejudicial action against the newly freed blacks with the argument that "As long as [the freedmen] manifest habits of industry and a willingness to make themselves useful, they will be treated with proper consideration." Regardless of promises of proper consideration, the *News* also lobbied for regulation free blacks' wages in a bid to protect the wages of white laborers. With wage ceilings and other prohibitory statutes in place, the newly freed slaves had little chance to exploit any "habits of industry or economy" they might have had.⁹⁷

1865 and Afterward

Lee's surrender in the spring of 1865 brought relief, but nothing resembling a patriotic celebration. The changes spawned by the past four years of armed conflict prohibited a return to normalcy as whites sought to adjust to the new status of their former servants, and blacks strove to better their lot. For many, such as the numerous whites whose income did not rely directly upon slave labor or the free blacks who had already been working for wages before the war, adjustment to the post-war universe did not bring economic trauma. It is apparent, however, from reports in the county's press, that acceptance of the new political order proved considerably more difficult. "The Negro Question" almost single-handedly

shaped the new party alignment of the post-war years, and Kent proved as hostile to new civil rights measures as any county in Maryland.

Much as it had lamented the public debate over slavery, the *News* regretted that Washington politicians were contemplating granting black suffrage. "The times are sadly out of joint," remarked the editors, as former Conservative Unionists and Democrats joined forces in the latter half of 1865 to "stay the progress of radicalism" and the designs of the "negro jacobins." Indeed, the hard feelings former Unionists may have felt regarding secession seemed to melt away upon the question of Negro suffrage. "Conservative men of all parties" met in a county convention on October 25 and agreed upon a Conservative ticket with George Vickers for state senator. The meeting resolved that the people of Kent were "uncompromisingly opposed to negro suffrage," and called for the repeal of the contentious Registry Law, a statute that required citizens to pass a loyalty test in order to register to vote. The *News*, with a history of blaming the war on disloyal Marylanders, now embraced those who pushed for ex-Confederate participation in elections. In fact, the paper fully abandoned the Conservative Unionist label (still active in the 1865 election), but the *News* dismissed their ticket as a "movement . . . calculated to build up a strong Radical party in this county." The Unionist platform was nearly identical to that of the Conservatives with whom the *News* now associated.⁹⁸

Close returns in the 1865 Kent elections nonetheless resulted in the victory of the entire Conservative ticket. No Unionists carried the county and the pattern became ingrained as years passed. In 1866, the *News* joined the *Transcript* in endorsing the incumbent First District Congressman Hiram McCullough, a Democrat, and McCullough won by the formidable margin of 1092 to 251. And by 1868 the unity of old Conservative Unionists and Democrats was even more apparent, as the *News* endorsed Democratic presidential candidate Horatio Seymour. Race remained the catalyst for supporting Democrats. The *News* warned its readers that "Universal and impartial negro suffrage, and the elevation of the negro to a position of . . . equality with the white men, is the cardinal dogma of the . . . Radical party." The race issue proved to be the most persuasive argument for the county's Democrats.

The "Democracy's" resurgence did not belong solely to Kent County. By the end of the 1860s the state government of Maryland was firmly under the party's control, and the only electoral hope the Republicans had rested with a voting black population. In 1865 several prominent politicians deserted the state's Unconditional Unionist Party, among them Montgomery Blair and Senator Reverdy Johnson. The highly contentious Registry Law was a sticking point for many of the deserters, and in 1866 Unionist Governor Thomas Swann replaced the registry judges that Bradford had appointed with more conservative men. The result was an explosion in the numbers of registered voters, mostly to the benefit of Democrats.⁹⁹ That same year Democrats and Conservatives took hold of the general assembly, and little time passed before a new constitutional convention was ap-

proved, as conservatives sought to undo the wrongs they believed had been perpetrated by the 1864 Constitution. Three years later, “secessionist” Richard Bennett Carmichael presided over the group and reassured “rural supremacy” by again greatly limiting Baltimore’s representation in the state legislature. Elimination of the loyalty test oaths fully re-enfranchised former Confederates and Maryland voters overwhelmingly approved the document, 47,152 to 23,036.¹⁰⁰

The Fifteenth Amendment, soundly defeated in the Maryland legislature but still approved by the required number of states in 1870, formally gave black men the right to vote, and in that year Chestertown saw its first black voters since the early years of the century.¹⁰¹ The result was palpable—in the election of town commissioners on May 23, 1870, the black vote filled all seven seats with Republicans. The *Transcript* vowed to fully mobilize the white Democrats for future elections, hoping that the “pride of race in the Caucasian element which even Mongrel influence cannot obliterate” would compel whites to “resume control of their own government.”

The Eastern Shore in general proved quite hostile to the idea of black voting. Local elections on the Western Shore seemed uneventful, but on the Eastern Shore several towns recorded no blacks casting ballots. Salisbury town officials refused to allow blacks to vote in their April 4 election, and St. Michael’s April 5 election was “untrammelled [sic] by the fifteenth amendment—no negroes offered to vote.” In Easton, then the Shore’s largest town with 2,110 people (43.2% of whom were black), elections took place on May 2, after which the *Easton Star* happily reported that “Africa did not make his appearance on the field of action.” If it is indeed true that the blacks did not attempt to cast ballots, threats and intimidation from a portion of the white population likely played a role.¹⁰²

Before its town election in May, Chestertown aimed to make disenfranchisement official policy by attempting to incorporate as a town with only white-male suffrage.¹⁰³ Free blacks not only had to deal with wage ceilings and disenfranchisement, but also racial terror in Kent. By 1867 arsonists statewide struck a dozen schools for free blacks, usually operated in Methodist Episcopal churches—fully one half of these conflagrations took place in Kent County.¹⁰⁴

The following June 1865 letter from “An Original Unionist” voiced the concerns of the conservatives in Kent, in Maryland, and indeed throughout the Union:

Abolition is the cause of secession and civil war; its origin is there. If there had been no Abolition there never could have been Secession and its consequences.... [T]hat same spirit of encroachment, aggression and destruction...inherent properties in the doctrine of Abolition, now turns upon the white race and proposes to wage a war upon their habits, tastes, prejudices, and principles.”

For men of such beliefs in Maryland, the war proved humiliating as well as tragic.

Armies marched across their soil and quickly occupied their cities. The state legislature had been arrested and cowed, and elections seemed tainted by federal interference. Maryland rebounded with a marked Confederate nostalgia after the war yet did not construct a Union memorial until 1909. The General Assembly officially accepted the potentially anti-Lincoln tune "Maryland, My Maryland" as the official state song in 1939.¹⁰⁵

In 1865, unlike years past, Chestertownians did not publicly celebrate the Fourth of July.¹⁰⁶ Located in a border state, Kent County technically belonged on the winning side of the Civil War, but politically and culturally most felt a loss. As evidenced by the post-war election results, the mantra of the local press, and the virulent anti-black activities of many in the county (including the town of Chestertown), Kent had swung from one of rural Maryland's bastions of Unionism in 1861 and 1862, when the county far exceeded its Southern Maryland and Eastern Shore peers in Union military volunteerism, to an encampment of embittered conservatives nostalgic for the Old South. This shift of opinion actually resulted from evolving federal wartime policy that began as a crusade against secession and ended with emancipation and looming political equality for blacks. A helpless place between the "mill stones" of North and South, Kent hoped to avoid bloodshed and retain its way of life, yet the revolutionary outcome of the conflict ushered in a new political and racial order, one that many in the county strove mightily to suppress for decades.

Notes

1. Joseph Burchinal, "Essay on the 1860 Election," February 24, 1860, Washington College Archives. I have found no evidence that Burchinal fought in the war.
2. In November 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected President with forty percent of the nation's popular vote, a popular vote markedly biased to the northern states. Lincoln's electoral tally south of the Mason-Dixon Line was dismal. Marylanders fell in with their fellow southerners, handing Lincoln a paltry 2,294 votes out of 92,441 cast, with the real contest for the Old Line State's electoral votes coming between Bell and Breckinridge. Breckinridge won Maryland's eight electoral votes by a 720-vote margin (Breckinridge polled 42,497 votes to Bell's 41,777 statewide). Kent County was closely divided as well, with Bell beating Breckinridge 853 to 693.; James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 232; Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society 1961), 21; *Cecil Democrat* (Elkton, Md.) November 17, 1860; Lawrence M. Denton, *A Southern Star for Maryland: Maryland and the Secession Crisis, 1860-1861* (Baltimore: Publishing Concepts, 1995), 30. Denton lists the Kent vote as 852 for Bell and 694 for Breckinridge.
3. Denton, *A Southern Star for Maryland*, 30.
4. The *News* backed the Winfield Scott Whig ticket in 1852 but by 1856 had made the transition

to the American, or Know-Nothing, camp, backing Millard Fillmore's run for the presidency. See *Kent News* (Chestertown, Md.) October 30, 1852, October 25, 1856.

5. *Kent News*, November 24, 1860.

6. The *Transcript* began publication in 1862.

7. *Kent News*, November 24, 1860.

8. Naturally, newspapers have proven a substantial and important resource for this project's research. The *Kent News* on microfilm is available from November 24, 1860, through the duration of the war. Microfilm of the wartime issues of the *News*'s main competitor, the *Chestertown Transcript*, are not available, and no issues of the *Kent Conservator* are extant.

9. As per the state constitution of 1851, the Maryland General Assembly met every other year. 1861 was an off year, and thus its convening at this time would have to be in response to the Governor's call.

10. The focus of this paper will remain on political events, but the military mobilization of the area is worthy of note. The anticipation of armed conflict spawned countless organized bands of volunteers throughout the country, and one of the earliest in Kent County was the Reed Rifles, named in honor of Lieutenant Colonel (and United States Senator) Philip Reed, the victorious commander of the Battle of Caulk's Field on August 3, 1814 during the War of 1812. The "Reeds" paraded through town with their "twenty-six muskets, of the Minnie patent" in the week of November 26–30 (*Kent News*, December 1, 1860). Other volunteer groups, with varying political sympathies, formed throughout the county and surrounding area. In the years 1862–1863, Washington College had a "Military Department," and offered training and drill practices "to a limited extent to those who desire it." See Fred W. Dumschott, *Washington College* (Chestertown: Washington College, 1980).

11. *Kent News*, January 5, 1861.

12. "Vickers, George, 1801–1879," *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*, bioguide.congress.gov; Dumschott, *Washington College*, 85–87; Kent County Commissioner of Slave Statistics, *Slave Statistics 1867–1868*, Accession No. CR 77,850, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, Md..

13. Hicks had at times seemed aloof during the spring but had held fast against the strong calls for assembling the legislature. See George L. P. Radcliffe, "Governor Thomas H. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, vol. XIX, nos. 11–13 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1902), *passim*.

14. *Kent News*, January 12, 1861.

15. The moniker of "Peace" was because of this bloc's disdain for the "coercion" of the seceded states. Many called for peace and recognition of the Confederate States of America. For more on the political orientation of the Peace Party, see *Kent News*, 1861, *passim*, and *Address and Resolutions Adopted at the Meeting of the Southern Rights Convention of Maryland*, (Baltimore: J.B. Rose, 1861).

16. That is, until his arrest for disloyal conduct by federal authorities in 1863.

17. *Kent News*, January 19, 1861; *Kent Conservator*, February 9, 1861, in Walter J. Kirby, *Roll Call: The Civil War in Kent County, Maryland* (Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line, 1985), 128.

18. "Address and Resolutions Adopted at the Meeting of the Southern Rights Convention of Maryland, Held in the Universalist Church, in the City of Baltimore, February 18th and 19th, 1861: Together with the Address Delivered by the President, Hon. Ezekiel F. Chambers, on Taking His Seat" (Baltimore: J. B. Rose, 1861), 10, 6.

19. The firing on Fort Sumter on the 12th prompted Lincoln to issue his call for 75,000 troops to protect the nation's capital. Northern soldiers coming south by rail to protect the District of Columbia had to pass through Baltimore, and on April 19 the first large unit to attempt this

passage was the Sixth Massachusetts Volunteer Militia. The specifics are conflicting, but the well-known result of the nervous and armed New Englanders marching through a Southern city infamous for its riots was a wild melee on Pratt Street, and when the smoke cleared several militiamen were dead, along with about a dozen civilians. See, for example, Charles W. Mitchell, "The Whirlwind Now Gathering: Baltimore's Pratt Street Riot and the End of Maryland Secession," *MdHM*, 97 (2002): 202–32; Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War*, 30–37; Robert I. Cottom, Jr. and Mary Ellen Hayward, *Maryland in the Civil War: A House Divided* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1994), 29–31.

20. The "Pratt Street Riot" made the Lincoln administration acutely aware of the volatility of Baltimore, and the danger of passing large numbers of Northern troops over an unoccupied Maryland. Therefore Brigadier General Benjamin F. Butler, with the blessing of Lincoln, suspended *habeas corpus* along the Maryland route to Washington DC, and on May 13th he marched into Baltimore and instituted military rule there that would last until the war's end. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War*, 47–51.

21. Governor Hicks had finally called the legislature on April 22, following the Pratt Street riot. The body met in Frederick (as Hicks considered it a safer location), and its conduct confirmed the fears of many Unionists. Although the legislature denied it had the authority to decide the issue of secession, the resolutions it did pass included a strong denunciation of "coercion" of the Southern states, a formal recognition of the Confederacy's independence, and a cordial relationship with Virginia was maintained. See Radcliffe, *Governor Thomas H. Hicks*, 62–69, 80–83; *Kent News* April 27, June 22, 1861. Carmichael's friend George Vickers complained of the legislature's actions to Hicks, and asked the governor to confront that body. See George Vickers to Governor Hicks, May 3, 1861, Hicks Papers, MS.1313 Maryland Historical Society (MdHS), Baltimore, Md.

22. "Judge Carmichael's Charge to the Grand Jury of Talbot County," 1861; "Petition of Richard B. Carmichael and Others, Against the Adjournment of the Legislature Sine Die," Maryland House of Delegates, June 18, 1861, Maryland State Archives; *Kent News*, June 22, 1861.

23. John A. Dix to George B. McClellan, August 23, 1861, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. 5, (1881, reprint Harrisburg, Pa.: National Historical Society, 1971) 581, 604.

24. S.W. Spencer to Governor Hicks, August 24, 1861, S.W. Spencer, Jesse K. Hines, and George Vickers to Governor Hicks, August 24, 1861, *Official Records*, Series III, I: 463.

25. John A. Dix to Governor Hicks, August 20, 1861, Governor Hicks to Winfield Scott, March 18, 1861, and March 28, 1861, Hicks Papers; G.W.P. Smith to Capt. George V. Massey, August 13, 1864, *Official Records*, Series I, 43: 785.

26. Augustus Bradford to John A. Dix, November 1, 1861, Bradford Papers, MS1215 Charles Branch Clark, *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War* (Chestertown, Md.: 1952) 72–74; George Vickers to Augustus Bradford, November 11, 1861, Bradford Papers; Hicks to Maj. Gen. N.P. Banks, October 16, 1861, in *Secret Correspondence Illustrating the Condition of Affairs in Maryland* (Baltimore: 1863) 30–31.

27. In the First Congressional District, which included all of the Eastern Shore counties south of Kent in 1861 (Kent would be part of the First District after 1863), John W. Crisfield ran as the Union candidate against Daniel M. Henry. Queen Anne's County gave Henry a majority of 53, but Crisfield still won the election. Crisfield wrote to Senator James Alfred Pearce on May 7, 1861, that in Somerset County and the lower Eastern Shore sentiment was "rapidly developing...in favor of the Union under all circumstances [emphasis in original]." Crisfield to Pearce, Washington College Archives (WAC). Bradford defeated Howard by nearly 2-to-1 in Somerset, which was "clearly the most pro-secessionist subdivision on the Eastern Shore." See John R.

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Wennersten, "John W. Crisfield and Civil War Politics on Maryland's Eastern Shore, 1860-64," *MdHM*, 99 (2004) 7.

28. *Kent News*, April 20, 1861, January 12, 1861, June 15, 1861, November 9, 1861; Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 26-30; John A. Dix to Augustus Bradford, November 1, 1861, Bradford Papers.

29. *Kent News*, January 12, 1861; "Union Address to the People of Maryland," *Kent News*, June 1, 1861; the first actions of the Union Maryland General Assembly, following the November '61 elections, included resolutions and bills supporting the protection of slavery. See Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 92.

30. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 55-59; Pearce to Crisfield, June 7, 1861, WAC; Crisfield to Pearce, May 7, 1861, WAC; *Kent News*, April 27, 1861; See Bernard C. Steiner, "James Alfred Pearce," *MdHM*, 19 (1924) 13, 162 for more on Pearce's leanings at the outbreak of the war. Also Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 55-56.

31. Crisfield to Pearce, August 19, 1860; March 31, 1861; April 28, 1861, WAC.

32. For the communications leading up to the arrests, see "Secret Correspondence," 25-30; *Kent News*, September 21, 1861.

33. Highlighting the risk of secession, the *News* reported that mere weeks after secession daily life in South Carolina was altered dramatically, "No vessels loading, no business doing, women weeping, and men overcome by sickness, and the city in the hands of a mob, is the bulletin travellers [sic] present of the condition of things . . . in Charleston." Secessionists had traded a robust slave economy and weighty political power in Washington for a chaotic existence and a "ruinous system of taxation," where there was a new "State tax of Two Dollars in the \$100, and \$1.66 upon every negro." *Kent News*, June 1, 1861, February 9, 1861, January 12, 1861.

34. *Kent News*, June 1, 1861; Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 70.

35. Governor Hicks had formally commissioned George Vickers as a General of the Maryland militia in 1861, but he would see no real military duty.

36. Kirby, *Roll Call*, 4-5; *Kent News*, January 11, 1862.

37. *Kent News*, August 9, 1862, October 18, 1862.

38. Seward to Dix, October 2, 1861; Dix to Bradford, February 10, 1862, *Official Records*, Series II, 2: 85, 213; Dix to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, June 25, 1862, *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. 4: 63-64.

39. Exact details are conflicting. For a good account of the Carmichael arrest, see Frederic Emory, *Queen Anne's County Maryland: Its Early History and Development* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1950) 505-6. Also *Kent News*, June 7, 1862.

40. Vickers kept a low profile in 1862, most likely because of political pursuits in Annapolis, and family tragedy. His son Benjamin, a twenty-six-year-old Confederate soldier and fiancé of the niece of General Sam Houston, died in Memphis on May 3 after being seriously wounded at the battle of Shiloh. In July, George Vickers was awarded the rank of Lieutenant Colonel by Bradford and officially made a gubernatorial aide. *Kent News*, July 12, 1862.

41. *Kent News*, June 7, 1862; Pearce to Lincoln, August 8, 1862, Abraham Lincoln Papers, online via Library of Congress <loc.gov>; Maj. Gen. John E. Wool to Stanton, June 30, 1862, *Official Records*, Series II, 4: 104; Lincoln to Crisfield, June 26, 1862, Abraham Lincoln Papers; Crisfield to Pearce, July 5, 1862, WAC; Vickers to Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln Papers; Union men of Centreville to Lincoln, June 9, 1862, Abraham Lincoln Papers.

42. Judge Carmichael was released on the December 2, Emory, *Queen Anne's County*, 506; *Kent News*, November 22, 1862.

43. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 162-63, 166-67; Crisfield to Pearce, April 18, 1862, WAC; For an account of the efforts of Maryland planters to see full enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law in the District of Columbia, see Charles Lewis Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution: Negro Eman-*

cipation in Maryland, 1862–1864 (1964, reprint Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004) 116–20.

44. *Kent News*, March 15, 1862, May 17, 1862; Baltimore Unionists were also dissatisfied with the scheme of representation in the General Assembly under the 1851 constitution, which gave one delegate to an average of 3,831 white persons in southern Maryland, but only one per 9,641 whites in the northern counties, with the state senate numbers being even more skewed. Baltimore City also lacked what the city convention considered adequate representation. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 165; Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 229. Lincoln very much wanted to see the border states end slavery, but also knew that political realities would not allow sudden emancipation. He thus recommended a joint resolution to Congress that the government give monetary aid to any border state that would “adopt gradual abolishment of slavery.” According to Wagandt, “Lincoln pleaded that ‘initiation of emancipation’ in the loyal slave states would deprive the South of any hopes that border region would join them.” Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 56–57.

45. *Kent News*, September 12, 1862, October 4, 1862.

46. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 171–73; Crisfield speech in House of Representatives, Crisfield to wife Mary, January 22, 1863, both in Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 75–77.

47. Hicks to Lincoln, May 26, 1862, Hicks Papers; *Kent News*, July 12, 1862; Crisfield to Pearce, July 12, 1862, WAC; Wennersten, “John W. Crisfield,” 9–10.

48. *Kent News*, January 10, 1863.

49. *Kent News*, April 11, 1863, May 23, 1863.

50. The Grand League rescheduled and met June 23.

51. Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 84–86; Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 96–98; In Kent County the Unconditional Unionists met in Kennedyville on June 13 to nominate delegates for the Grand League Convention, and the Conservatives met in Chestertown three days later for the same purpose. *Kent News*, June 13, 1863.

52. *Kent News*, June 27, 1863. The nomination convention in Cambridge was held on August 11. On August 1, the Unconditional Unionists of Kent County held their convention to nominate delegates to attend at Cambridge, and the *News* was delighted to report that only twenty participants were present. *Kent News*, August 8, 1863; *Kent News*, August 15, 1863, September 5, 1863. For a detailed account of the rupture of the Union Party, and the ensuing nomination process, see Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 95–115.

53. *Kent News*, September 5, 1863.

54. As per the national draft introduced in 1863, Maryland was responsible for a quota of 13,320 troops. The colored troops raised by Birney were to be credited to Maryland’s quota as would white soldiers. Cottom and Hayward, *Maryland in the Civil War*, 83; *Kent News*, July 18, 1863.

55. Bond reasoned that locations of large free black populations, like Baltimore, were losing their labor force while slave property, untapped by Birney, was increasing in value.

56. Thomas Hicks was appointed to the US Senate to fill the vacancy opened by the death of James Alfred Pearce.

57. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 179–83; Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 123–24; *Kent News*, September 26, 1863.

58. *Kent News*, September 19, 1863; Ricaud, Westcott, Spencer, and Vickers to Governor Bradford, September 16, 1863, Bradford Papers.

59. *Kent News*, September 26, 1863; *Kent News*, October 3, 1863.

60. Vickers to Bradford, September 16, 1863, Bradford Papers; Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 128; Birney to “Adjutant-General U.S. Army,” October 13, 1863, *Official Records*, Series III, 3: 881–82.

61. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 187–88; Lincoln to Birney, cited in Birney to “Adjutant-Gen-

eral," October 13, 1863; Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 129; Congressman Crisfield also lost six slaves to recruiting in October, Wennersten, "John W. Crisfield," 12.

62. Such was Hicks' prediction, following the slave recruitment controversies. Hicks to Bradford, October 20, 1863, Bradford Papers.

63. The federal government had military representatives overseeing every part of the state.

64. Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 157. A power struggle developed between Schenck and Bradford in the days before the election, with Bradford attempting to nullify the General's call for test oaths and Schenck subsequently banning the publication of Bradford's orders in Maryland newspapers, particularly those of the Eastern Shore. Wagandt, "Election by Sword and Ballot: The Emancipationist Victory of 1863," *MdHM*, 59, (1964) 146–47. Many military authorities in Maryland ignored Bradford's protests against what he considered "intervention with the privileges of the Ballot Box and offensive discrimination against the rights of a loyal state," although the confusion lent to the inconsistent use of test oaths on election day. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 103–9; Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 158–63; Vickers to Bradford, October 22, 1863, Bradford Papers.

65. Plummer and Usilton were much more critical of this arrest than they were of the apprehension of John Leeds Barroll, the proprietor and editor of the *Kent Conservator*, who was arrested for publishing treasonable articles on April 17, and deported to Virginia shortly thereafter. See *Kent News*, April 18, 1863, April 25, 1863. A good history of the Barroll affair can also be found in Kevin Hemstock, "Newspapers Grew Up in the Civil War," *Discover Kent County, Md.*, promotional pamphlet (Chestertown, Md.: *Kent County News*, Spring/Summer 2003), 57–89.

66. Order of Lt. Col. Charles Carroll Tevis, *Kent News*, November 7, 1863; *Kent News*, November 14, 1863; Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 110–11; Wagandt, "Election by Sword and Ballot," 157–61. Frazier's behavior on election day was not without warning. Starting in October, George Vickers repeatedly warned Governor Bradford of the Provost Marshal's intentions, complaining that Frazier was "totally unprincipled & ought to be broken." John B. Ricaud even went to Baltimore, also in October, to deliver affidavits attesting to Frazier's belligerency. Vickers to Bradford, October 22, 1863, October 30, 1863, Bradford Papers.

67. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 111; Wagandt, *Mighty Revolution*, 176; Wagandt, "Election by Sword and Ballot," 151–56.

68. *Kent News*, November 7, 1863; Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 113.

69. The 1851 constitution forbade the legislature from ever interfering with the institution, see 1851 Maryland Constitution, Article III, Section 43.

70. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 112–14; Wagandt, "Election by Sword and Ballot," 163–64.

71. *Kent News*, December 5, 1863.

72. Lincoln, whom Vickers visited personally to discuss the 1863 election fiasco, at first seemed uninterested in the Frazier affair, prompting Vickers to fume of the president's "artless simplicity, & frank & honest impulses. . . . If he had the moral firmness of a man," Vickers complained, Frazier would be removed at once. Vickers to Bradford, December 15, 1863, Bradford Papers, *Kent News*, February 27, 1864.

73. Vickers to Bradford, December 15, 1863, Bradford Papers.

74. Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 219.

75. *Kent News*, January 16, 1864, February 13, 1864. Included in the legislation were safeguards against unwanted military inference in elections, allowing the governor to call a new election in troubled districts. Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 194–96.

76. For example, Chambers landed 793 votes, as compared to Spry's 451 and Unconditional Unionist Leary's 241. The tallies for the other men were similar; Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 200; *Kent News*, March 26, 1864, April 9, 1864.

77. Vickers to Bradford, April 8, 1864, Bradford Papers.
78. Citizens voted for or against the convention, as well as for a delegation to send to the convention. This was done in one election for the sake of efficiency, so if the convention was approved there would already be delegations elected.
79. The statewide vote for the convention was 31,593 to 19,524. All of Southern Maryland, along with most of the Eastern Shore counties, voted against the convention. Northern Maryland voted nearly unanimously for the convention; in Baltimore City only eighty-seven votes were cast against it. Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 218–19; *Kent News*, April 9, 1864.
80. Article XXIII of the Declaration of Rights banned slavery, and the committee's minority denounced it as "a sudden, violent, and most mischievous destruction of the relation of master and slave," that would instigate "very serious . . . injury and suffering" among both slaves and masters. *The Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Maryland, Assembled at the City of Annapolis, Wednesday, April 27, 1864*, Vol 1 (Annapolis: Richard P. Bayly, 1864) 81–82.
81. The vote was 53 to 27.
82. The votes were, respectively: 37 to 28, 50 to 25, and 42 to 13. *Proceedings of the State Convention*, 225, 337–38, 79, 606–7. Chambers also seemed particularly offended by Article IV of the Declaration of Rights, which stipulated that Marylanders owed their supreme allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States. Chambers offered an amendment to the article, altering it to say that Marylanders owed allegiance to the laws of the U.S. "so far as such . . . ordinances shall be in conformity to the Constitution of the United States." The amendment was defeated, and the Kent delegation voted against final passage of the article, which was approved 53 to 32. Chambers also submitted a protest against banishment of "rebel sympathizers," a punishment endorsed by a resolution passed by the convention. *Ibid.*, 200–1, 204, 397.
83. Fifty-three to twenty-six.
84. Loyalty oaths consisted of several "test questions," an example of which being, "When the Union and Rebel armies meet in battle, which side do you wish to see succeed?" Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 193.
85. *Chestertown Transcript*, April 25, 1864, in Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 249. Microfilm of the *Kent News* is unavailable for most of September and October of 1864.
86. *Maryland Union*, October 20, 1864, in Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 260; *Baltimore Weekly Sun*, October 22, 1864; Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 262–63; Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 192–93.
87. For the Union voters of Kent County the political confusion was compounded by conflicting Union endorsements; local papers such as the *News* railed against any more Lincoln terms, but the statewide conservative Union Party formally endorsed Lincoln on October 18. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 122–23; *Kent News*, June 11, 1864.
88. Hiram McCullough was to run against the unpopular John A.J. Creswell in the First District. *Kent News*, June 18, 1864, September 3, 1864; Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 244–45; Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 122–23.
89. *Baltimore Weekly Sun*, November 11, 1864; Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 125; *Kent News*, November 19, 1864.
90. *Kent News*, June 27, 1863; John Frazier, Jr., to James B. Fry, Provost-Marshal-General, Washington, D.C., July 14, 1863, in *Official Records*, Series III, 3: 492; Vickers to Bradford, August 14, 1863, Bradford Papers.
91. Petitions were circulated requesting the County Commissioners to apportion \$20,000 to devote to enlistment bonuses.
92. Vickers to Bradford, June 14, 1864, Bradford Papers.
93. *Kent News*, July 23, 1864, July 30, 1864, November 19, 1864, December 10, 1864, February 11, 1865, January 21, 1865.

94. *Kent News*, February 13, 1864, April 2, 1864.
95. Resolution adopted by the State Constitutional Convention, in *Kent News*, September 3, 1864.
96. *Kent News*, February 11, 1864; Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 197–98.
97. *Kent News*, December 3, 1864, December 17, 1864, December 24, 1864; “A Few Remarks Addressed to the Sober Consideration of Reflecting People in Kent County,” unknown author, in *Kent News*, December 17, 1864. The abuses of apprenticeship system were eventually ended, much to the efforts of Major-General Lewis Wallace, whose “General Orders No. 112” established a “Freedmen’s Bureau” and forbade the binding out of black youths. The new state constitution of 1867 officially abolished the practice. See Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 197–98; Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, 264–65.
98. *Kent News*, July 1, 1865, October 14, 1865, October 28, 1865, November 4, 1865. For more on the Registry Law see Richard O. Curry, ed., *Radicalism, Racism, and Party Realignment: The Border States during Reconstruction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1969) 162–63.
99. Baltimore went from less than 11,000 voters to over 24,000 upon the change of registrars.
100. Curry, *Border States*, 162–74. In March 1868, George Vickers was chosen by the General Assembly to represent Maryland in the United States Senate, where he would cast the deciding vote for acquittal in President Johnson’s impeachment trial.
101. The 1776 Constitution of Maryland allowed free blacks to vote in elections for the lower house of the General Assembly, but this right was rescinded in 1810. Clark, *Politics in Maryland*, 10.
102. C. Christopher Brown, “Democracy’s Incursion into the Eastern Shore: The 1870 Election in Chestertown,” *MdHM*, 89 (1994) 339–40.
103. Governor Oden Bowie vetoed the incorporation bill once it passed the general assembly. That Chestertown election saw some newly enfranchised black voters display calculated political manipulation, hardly winning over skeptical whites. Chestertown only allowed landowners to vote in municipal elections, inspiring African American landowner Isaac Anderson to sell, for \$15, forty-five inches of his property to forty-four black voters, thus making them eligible to vote for town commissioners. The story was reported across the country. Brown, “Democracy’s Incursion,” 343; “The Amendment in Maryland—Forty-four Negroes Owners of Forty-five Inches of Ground,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1870, online via ProQuest <www.proquest.com>.
104. The only other county with more than one such burning was Queen Anne’s, just across the Chester River, Brown, “Democracy’s Incursion,” 343–44; Curry, *Border States*, 159.
105. *Kent News*, June 17, 1865; Cottom, *A House Divided*, 119–25; Historians disagree over Maryland’s wartime sympathies. Charles Lewis Wagandt tends to view the elections of abolitionist Unconditional Unionists in 1864, and the approval of the 1864 Constitution, as largely legitimate exercises and is at times enthusiastic about the level of approval abolition had with the public. Lawrence M. Denton conversely makes a strong case for Maryland’s Confederate impulses. The state was forced to stay in the Union by military force alone, he contends, and post-war elections that saw overwhelming Democratic majorities make clear the state’s sentiments. “[F]rom April 1861, to the very end of the war, Lincoln and his administration treated Maryland as if she had seceded,” and if the data which Denton presents is indeed reflective of Maryland’s sympathies, this was all Lincoln could do to keep Washington, D.C. from being surrounded by Confederate territory. Wagandt, *The Mighty Revolution*, passim; Denton, *A Southern Star for Maryland*, 195–210.
106. Marcia C. Landskroener, ed., *Washington: The College at Chester* (Chestertown: Lit House Press, 2000) 43, 44. Ex-Confederates had regained much of their public stature in Maryland by 1870. In 1867, Washington College chose as its new President Robert Carter Berkeley, who had served with the Confederate Army and was wounded in the Battle of Seven Pines in 1862.

Maryland History Bibliography, 2007: A Selected List

Anne S. K. Turkos and Jeff Korman, Compilers

From 1975 on, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has published regular compilations of books, articles, and doctoral dissertations relating to Maryland history. The following list includes materials published during 2007, as well as earlier works that have been brought to our attention.

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Letters to the Editor

Editor,

The author had been searching for the origin of the name "Oella," without success, since 1975. The usual route of dismal scholarship in libraries proved fruitless. The name of the mill town of the Union Manufacturing Company on the Patapsco River first appeared in a patent document in 1811, when the company resurveyed its accumulated parcels of land into a single lot of 865 acres. The patent document stated that the ground was so named "in commemoration of the first woman who applied herself to the spinning of cotton on the continent of America." (Patents, Liber JK No. T, folio 453, Maryland State Archives). Few Maryland Land Office patents explained the selection of the name for a newly surveyed parcel and this statement did not explain the source of the name. Over time we came across various American women who bore the given name of Oella, and we accidentally found that an Ohio River steam boat had been given that name in the nineteenth century.

In May 2008, this writer tried the name Oella on the Google search engine and instantly found many references. Many authors had mentioned Oella before 1811, but the most likely route from printed literature to a Baltimore County legal document seems to be via Joel Barlow's epic American poem, *The Vision of Columbus*, 1787, which was later expanded into the *Columbiad*. In those poems, Barlow, one of the "Hartford Wits" from Connecticut, took a sweeping view of the history behind the birth of this nation. He included the legendary and mythical origin of the Incas of Peru. Indeed, the creation legend of the Incas held that the divine being Manco Capac was the first emperor, and along with his sister-wife Mama Oella established Cuzco. They and eight siblings had emerged from a cave, fully adult. Capac instructed the men in agriculture while Oella taught the women how to weave and spin cloth. Barlow provided a foot note 66) stating that "Mama Oella is said to have invented many of the domestic arts, particularly that of making garments of cotton and other vegetable substances." He then went on, in running poetry (70), and described how Oella spun cotton bolls:

Her busy hand sustains a bending bough,
Where woolly clusters spread their robes of snow,
From opening pods, unwinds their fleecy store,
And culls her labors for the evening bower.
Her sprightly soul, by invention led,
Had found the skill to turn the twisty thread,
To spread the woof, the shuttle to command,



"Mancho Capac and his wife Coya
Mama Oello Huaco," by Gabriel
Francois Louis Debre.

Till various garments graced her forming hand . . .
She sends the purest wool, to web the fleece,
The sacred element of returning peace.

The pertinent pages in the *Columbiad* (I: 501–806) can be found online, but the book is rare and in the Baltimore region I found no copies to borrow. Part of *The Vision of Columbus*, however, is available in a modern anthology. In the early Federal era, people brought up on Homer, Vergil, and Milton, could slog through such effusions, but today it is easy to see why almost no one reads it. The lines describing some Maryland and Virginia rivers are at least of local interest in this region:

Wild Rappanoc seems to lure the sail,
Patapsco's bosom courts the hand of toil,
Dull Susquehanna laves a length of soil,
But mightier far, in sealike azure spread
Potomac sweeps his earth disparting bed.

An earlier work, in which the name ended in "o," *The Secret History of Mama Oello, Princess Royal of Peru* (London, 1733), satirized Britain's Princess Anne. Also published in London, John Kelly's *The Fourth and Last Volume of Peruvian Tales* (1745), contains a translated French chapter titled "The Secret History of Mama Oello, Princess Royal of Peru." A number of Spanish colonists, including Frey (or Brother) Antonio in 1542, wrote of Peru's national origins. Thirty years later, Sarmiento de Gamboa wrote a long version after interviewing one hundred of the

Inca knot-makers who recorded events on twine strings in the absence of a system of writing. And in the early years of the seventeenth century, Spanish speaking Inca Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote a richly illustrated history of Peru and drew a picture of Mama Occlo as a fertility goddess.

There are occasional mentions of Oella in American literature. For example, in April 1873 Marid J. B. Browne wrote "An Ancient American Civilization" for *Scribner's Magazine*, and reported how the legendary Manco Capac and Mama Oella Huaca arrived at Cuzco:

The mildness, wisdom, and benevolence of Manco and his sister-wife attracted the people, who gladly submitted to such benign authority. Manco dedicated himself to the instructions of his male subjects while Mama Oella taught women the arts of weaving and spinning. (5:725)

In his 1912 book, *Following the Conquistadores, Along the Andes and Down the Amazon*, H. J. Mozans,* described the first Inca emperor as less benign:

And while Manco Capac was establishing his government—patriarchal and despotic—and teaching his people the arts of agriculture and civilized life, his sister-wife—Mama Oello, was, says Garcilaso, employing "the Indian women in such work as is suitable to them, such as to sew and weave cotton and wool, to make clothes for themselves, their husbands and children, and to perform other household duties," this making herself the *coya*—queen—and mistress of the women as the Inca made himself the king and master of the men.

In recent times, American scholars have learned the Inca's Quechua language, and the familiar names are now spelled with more accuracy. The first emperor's name is now given as Qhapaq, while the spinning lady is now Mama Ogllu. Even the name of the tribe is now spelled Inka. Dr. Gary Urton of Colegate University thoroughly studied all forty versions and variations of the Cuzco origin story in *The History of a Myth: Paracariqtambo and the Origin of the Inkas* (University of Texas Press: Austin, 1990). Urton noted that the history or legend was first written down just six years after the arrival of the Spanish in Peru, followed by a serious history some forty years later when Inca historians were still alive and able to read the knotted strings that recorded their dynasty.

John McGrain,
Baltimore County

*Rev. John Augustine Zahm, a Holy Cross father from South Bend, Indiana, used the pen name H. J. Mozans. He cited Garcilaso de la Vega., *Commentarios Reales de los Incas* (Madrid, 1722) as his chief source.

Notices

Maryland History and Culture Bibliography

From 1975 on, the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has published regular compilations of books, articles, and doctoral dissertations relating to Maryland history. The Office of Digital Collections and Research and the Maryland History and Culture Team at the University of Maryland Libraries have pulled all of these lists together into one data base and now proudly announce the launch of The Maryland History and Culture Bibliography. The citations are gathered from scholarly journals, local and state history-related newsletters and magazines, subject indexes to monographs and journals, publishers' catalogs, and electronic databases, among other sources.*

The Maryland History and Culture Bibliography is primarily based on the annual bibliography of Maryland history sources that appears in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Citations in the bibliography date from the mid-1970s through 2002. Past compilers: Dorothy M. Brown and Richard R. Duncan (1973), Richard J. Cox (1974–1982), William LeFurgy and Peter H. Curtis (1983–1986), Anne S. K. Turkos and Peter H. Curtis (1987–1991), and Anne S. K. Turkos and Jeff Korman (1992–present).

Annotations were added as part of the original Maryland Humanities Council project. Updates will be added in 2008 and in regular intervals thereafter. The Maryland History and Culture Bibliography database was originally created by the Maryland Humanities Council in 2000. The University of Maryland Libraries assumed responsibility for the continued access and updating of the database in 2008.

For additional information about the entire collection please visit <http://www.lib.umd.edu/dcr/collections/mdhc/>. Please explore the site and send us any feedback, questions and comments at <http://www.lib.umd.edu/dcr/collections/mdhc/contact.php>.

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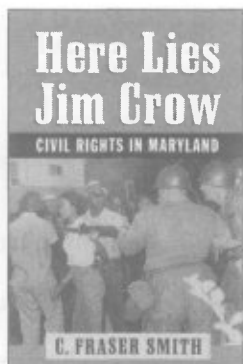
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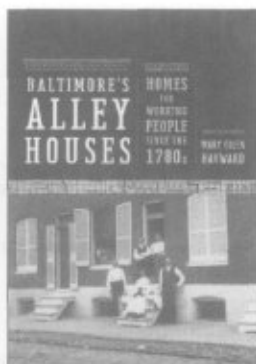
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